

Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

Daily Report Sub-Saharan Africa

CONTENTS FBIS-AFR-92-120 22 June 1992 NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form. CENTRAL AFRICA Chad Further Fighting in Lake Chad Region Reported Army, Koty Supporters Clash [Paris International] Government Issues Communique [AFP] Congo Official Denies Interfering in Release of Minister [Brazzaville Radio] Army Urged To Ensure Free, Open Elections [Libreville Radio] Rwanda Council of Ministers Meets on War Escalation [Kigali Radio] Defense Minister on Attacks | Kigali Radio| Zaire National Conference Debates Transition Period [PANA] EAST AFRICA Ethiopia EPRDF, IFLO Issue Communique on Agreements [Addis Ababa Radio] Council of Representatives Approves Budget Bill [Addis Ababa Radio] Kenya Moi Issues Warning in Londiani on Lawlessness [Nairobi Radio] Paper Says Relations With Libya To Be Restored [Nairobi Radio] Uganda Museveni Returns, Views U.S. Visit, Rio Summit [Kampala Radio] REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA Further on Government, ANC Reaction to Massacre ANC Criticizes De Klerk Visit [SAPA]

De Klerk 'Chased' Out [SAPA]

De Klerk News Conference [SAPA]

Hint of New Emergency [Johannesburg TV]

Mandela Gets 'Warm' Welcome [SAPA]

Mandela Suspends Talks [SAPA]

Kriel Calls For Investigation of Police Action [SAPA]	11 12
NP 'Shocked' at Ramaphosa Statements on De Klerk [SAPA]	
Peace Accord Chairman Comments on Boipatong [SAPA]	13
Tutu Calls For Withdrawal From Olympic Games [SAPA]	13
AZAPO Official Comments on Boipatong, Talks [SAPA]	
TV Panel Discussion Views Future of Talks [Johannesburg TV]	
At Least 10 Injured in Clash After IFP Rally [SAPA]	20
IFP Claims Offices Occupied by ANC Supporters [SAPA]	20
NUMSA Demonstration [SAPA]	
Police Criticize Use of Media for Attack Warnings /SAPA/	
Returned Exiles Group Writes ANC on Camps Inquiry [SAPA]	
Mass Action Organizer Outlines 'Operation Exit' [NEW NATION 19-25 Jun]	
ANC Activists Comment [THE WEEKLY MAIL 19-25 Jun]	22
Ministry Reports Angolan Request for Election Help SAPA	24
AEC Restructures, Seeks Fiscal Self-Sufficiency [SUNDAY TIMES 21 Jun]	24
Concern Over Cooperation With Russia Noted [SUNDAY TIMES 21 Jun]	25
State Expenditure Minister Venter Interviewed [SAPA]	26
21 Jun Press Review on Current Events, Issues [SATURDAY STAR 20 Jun, etc.]	
Press Review for 22 Jun [THE CITIZEN 19 Jun, etc.]	30
Angola Dos Santos Views Cabinda During Gabon Stopover [Libreville Radio]	32
	-
Bostwana	
Ruling Party Suspends Leaders Over Land Deals [London International]	32
Malawi	
Tembo Comments on Detainees' Situation [London International]	32
Mozambique	
Government, Renamo Envoys Sign Protocol in Rome [Maputo Radio]	
Chissano Marks Frelimo, Independence Anniversaries [Maputo Radio]	
Further Remarks [Maputo Radio]	
Proliferation of Arms, Rising Crime Discussed [TEMPO 14 Jun]	35
Swaziland	
Current Political Developments Assessed [THE TIMES OF SWAZILAND SUNDAY 21 Jun]	36
Zimbabwe	
Official on Lack of Progress in Resettlement [SAPA]	38
WEST AFRICA	
Burkina Faso	
New Prime Minister Details Policy Program [Paris International] Names Cabinet [Ouagadougou Radio]	39 39

Chad

Further Fighting in Lake Chad Region Reported

Army, Koty Supporters Clash

LD2006142592 Paris Radio France International in French 1230 GMT 20 Jun 92

[Text] [Announcer] Clashes were reported yesterday in the Lake Chad region between the Chadian Army and dissidents supporting former Minister Abbas Koty, who has been on the run since Wednesday. Government sources report that the Chadian Army had the upper hand in these clashes, in which the Zagawa [ethnic groups] clashed with each other. Christophe Boisbouvier reports:

[Boisbouvier] On one side is the Chadian Army, essentially staffed by Zagawa, who come from the east and remain loyal to President Deby although they do not exactly belong to the same ethnic group. This is the case of Chief of Staff Mahamat Ali Abdellah and presidency adviser Hassan Fadoul Kittil.

On the other side are dissidents of the Chadian Army, also Zagawa, who are perhaps afraid of loosing their position in the Army because of the current demilitarization plan and who are in solidarity with the Zagawa leader Abbas Koty in his rebellion. These rebels, reportedly numbering in the hundreds, are located in the Bol region, a prefecture located in the Lake Chad area. It is not quite certain that Abbas Koty managed to join them since his disappearance from Ndjamena last Wednesday because his whereabouts are still unknown.

In any case a governmental delegation of 3J people led by presidency adviser Hassan Fadoul Kittil went to meet these rebels on Thursday to try to convince them to surrender, but was badly received. The members were nearly taken as hostages. The rebels then launched an offensive hours later and are reported to have attacked a post of the Chadian Army situated between Massakori and Ngouri. According to the government, the Army won the fight in this clash and the dissidents are reported to be on the run. This information has not yet been confirmed by independent sources.

[Announcer] We know that there is another military force in the Lake Chad region, the Movement for Democracy and Development [MDD] which has attacked the Chadian Army several times since last December. What is the capability of this rebellious force at the moment?

[Bouisbouvier] For the moment these rebels of the MDD are not active. As you know, some of them are residents of the Lake region, they are Kanembou who have a perfect knowledge of this rather flat savannah terrain. They have adopted a wait and see position and haven't made any comment so far except the only declaration of their leader this morning asking France—which as you

know has a few hundred men in Ndjamena—not to intervene in the current fighting.

Government Issues Communique

AB2006093092 Paris AFP in French 0710 GMT 20 Jun 92

[Excerpt] Ndjamena, 20 Jun (AFP)—The Chadian Army yesterday afternoon "put to flight" a column of "rebels"—followers of Colonel Abbas Koty—who assembled in the Lake Region, according to a government communique broadcast on 19 June in Ndjamena.

The communique explained that the "rebels" had earlier attacked Chadian Army positions between Ngouri and Massakori (a little over 100 km to the north of Ndjamena in the Lake Region).

"The area is being combed," the communique further stated without specifying the number of victims, but said that the whereabouts of the "insurgent" leader (Col. Abbas Koty) "remains unknown."

According to the Chadian Government, the presence of a "concentration of rebels" (number unspecified) had been reported on 18 June in the Lake Region.

An important delegation of some 30 dignitaries, including Hassan Fadoul Kittil, official in charge of special duties at the Presidency, went "to meet this group to bring it to reason."

But the "mutineers persisted in their attitude and threatened to take some members of the delegation hostage," the communique continued.

They "issued an ultimatum calling for the resignation of the president of the Republic within 72 hours."

"Faced with the intransigence of the insurgents, the delegation returned to Ndjamena yesterday morning and it was shortly afterward that the rebels took the initiative to attack Army positions," the government communique further stated. "The intentions of the rebels are clear and, while acting with an open mind, the government is determined to do all that it can to restore state authority," the communique concluded. [passage omitted]

Congo

Official Denies Interfering in Release of Minister

AB2006214592 Brazzaville Radio Nationale Congolaise Network in French 1830 GMT 19 Jun 92

[Text] Mr. Itihi Ossetoumba Lekoundzou was freed on 17 June, as you know. This evening, the transitional government provides its viewpoint on the rumor that has been circulating following this release. Here is the viewpoint as delivered by Mr. Jean-Pierre (Mika), the minister of justice:

[Begin (Mika) recording] Ladies and gentlemen, on 17 June, our country's Supreme Court issued an order in keeping with its mission of judging, of the control of legality, and of decisions of justice in the so-called Lekoundzou affair. The government of the Republic informs the national and international public that in this affair—whether during the period of detention, the judgment by the Criminal Court, or during the examination by the Supreme Court of the request for an alternative court judgment coming from the counsel for the sentenced person—it did not intervene in any way to influence the course of the penal process. The judicial power thus functioned normally, and moreover, His Excellency Andre Milongo, prime minister and head of the Cabinet, has continued to state that the Lekoundzou affair was henceforth a case for the judicial power and that justice should thus follow its normal course.

The wish of the sovereign national conference has been to see an impartial and balanced independent judicial system established in this country. Such a judicial system is one of the pillars of democracy, but for it to genuinely guarantee the freedom and property of citizens, it should before anything else respond to the above-mentioned demands of independence, impartiality, and balance. The government reiterates its determination to make our country truly one that respects the rule of law, in keeping with the recommendations of the sovereign national conference. [end recording]

Army Urged To Ensure Free, Open Elections

AB1906160092 Libreville Africa No 1 in French 1230 GMT 19 Jun 92

[Text] Two days before the legislative elections, it is difficult to know the exact situation prevailing in Congo. Mr. Tiasse Massengo, chairman of the international committee on the African Human Rights Charter, made headlines when he talked about the risk of an imminent coup d'etat. It was in this context that Defense Minister General Raymond Damas Ngollo called on the Army to play its role by ensuring free as well as open elections. Omer Rimbe Ndambia has the details:

[Ndambia] Gen. Raymond Damas Ngollo warned Army officers against adopting a partisan stand during these elections, the first round of which is slated for 21 June. Addressing Congolese Armed Force officers yesterday, Gen. Ngollo said it was the Army's duty to ensure free and open elections. He announced the setting up of a special Army unit made up of Army and the police representatives. This unit is charged with taking exceptional security measures during the elections.

This warning comes a few days before these elections in which 1,700 candidates will compete for 123 seats in the future Congolese National Assembly. The defense minister's clarifications also come amid persistent rumors of a coup d'etat circulating in Brazzaville as announced by Tiasse Massengo, chairman of the international committee for the respect and implementation of the African Human and People's Rights Charter. He stressed that the risks of a coup d'etat were enhanced by the fact that since 15 June, the transition constitution, which was adopted

during the national conference, is no longer in force. Congo, therefore, exists without a constitution, he added, stressing that the institutions set up by the national conference, namely the Higher Council of the Republic [CSR] and the government have lost their legality. According to him, the head of state, Denis Sassou-Nguesso, can legally decree a state of siege and announce the dissolution of the institutions.

In conclusion, he regretted that the CSR did not adopt an interim constitution to govern the functioning of the institutions and to fill the legal vacuum created by the absence of a constitution.

Rwanda

Council of Ministers Meets on War Escalation

EA2006132092 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale de la Republique Rwandaise in French 0430 GMT 20 Jun 92

[Excerpt] The Council of Ministers yesterday held its weekly meeting on the 5 July at the Hotel in Kigali, under the chairmanship of Prime Minister Dismas Nsengiyaremye.

It examined the military and social situation in Byumba.

In the military field, the Council was informed that the Rwanda Patriotic Front is intensifying attacks in Cyumba, Kivuye, Kiyombe, and Mukarange [all in the Byumba area], with the support of Uganda.

In the face of such an increasingly worrisome situation, the Council of Ministers stressed that the integrity of national territory must be defended at all costs and launched an appeal to the whole population to continue giving solidarity to our Army, which is displaying exceptional bravery. In this respect, it noted that this war concerns Rwandans of all political affiliations.

The Council of Ministers called upon every citizen to maintain his support for the Armed Forces by boosting the fund created for this purpose. In this connection, the Council supported the idea of giving soldiers the money available in the support account.

In light of the war situation, which could jeopardize the democratic process already in progress, the Council of Ministers called on international forces to become more involved in the search for peace in our country. The Council also called for the resumption of peace negotiations as soon as possible. [passage omitted]

Defense Minister on Attacks

EA2106183592 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale de la Republique Rwandaise in Kinyarwanda 1700 GMT 20 Jun 92

[Excerpts] The rebel cockroaches [inyenzi-inkotanyi] continue to launch attacks on the communes of Kivuye, Cyumba, Kiyombe, and Mukarange within Byumba Prefecture.

Our colleague Robert Timba spoke on the telephone with Defense Minister James Gasana, who told him that the Rwandan Armed Forces are doing well. Here is Minister Gasana: [Begin recording] [Gasana] The attacks were launched on the communes bordering Uganda: Kivuye, Cyumba, Mukarange, and Kiyombe. Currently, our forces have stopped them in these communes so that they cannot progress forward toward Byumba.

[Timba] From the time the war started intensifying, many people have been saying—we hear this from outside as well as from Rwandans who talk on the radio, especially people who come from the war-affected zones—that it would be better if multiparty politics could stop for some time so that the problem of the war might be studied and a solution found. What does the government think about this?

[Gasana] This is irrelevant. The existence of parties cannot stop people from loving their country. The existence of parties has to do with different ideas of how the country can be run but does not mean that people in various parties cannot [as heard] neglect what the country wants them to do in terms of protecting itself. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Our colleague Timba asked again the question which was raised in the recent past: Will there would be a reduction in the number of soldiers once the war ends? The question has not been studied. Minister Gasana in fact says that this will not be done in the near future, even if the war ends.

Timba also asked a question about government plans for taking care of soldiers who were disabled during the current war. Here is Minister Gasana's answer to both questions:

[Begin Gasana recording] In reality the government has not yet studied the question of what will be done after the end of the war. It has not been presented with suggestions on how the question will be solved. [passage omitted]

Even if the war had to end, one does not know when a new war will start, so a country must always be ready and have the capability to defend itself against enemy attacks at any time anywhere in the country. We think that in view of the times we are in, where we are—that is the region of Africa where our country is situated—and in view of the regional questions, we could maintain or increase the number of our soldiers. All this will depend on how [word indistinct]. Right now we cannot say that the country needs a given number of soldiers. What we know is that if we currently had sufficient funds, we could even increase their number to counter the enemy and its supporters.

There are plans concerning help for those crippled by the war. I would like to inform you that in the recent past we created a department in the Ministry of Defense to look into questions relating to former soldiers or those who

were disabled during the war. The commission will have the task of studying all these questions so that in the future we will have a plan for their solution. So, you see, progress is being made in this area. [end recording]

Zaire

National Conference Debates Transition Period

AB2006222092 Dakar PANA in French 1404 GMT 18 Jun 92

[Text] Kinshasa, 18 Jun (PANA)— Zaire's national conference has decided to set up a 65-member special commission in charge of examining issues relating to the organization of the transition period that would lead to a pluralistic political regime.

The formation of this commission was preceded by a lengthy debate on how urgent it was to set up a transition government that would end the degradation of the socioeconomic situation in the country.

The group, including members chosen "after taking into account the need for social balance," will work alongside the constitutional commission and other commissions of 100 to 120 members to be set up before the end of the week.

At the opening of the 16 June session, the chairman of the conference, Monsignor Monsengwo Pasinya, made it a point to call on participants to show restraint following the publishing 24 hours earlier in Kinshasa of a statement by the head of state, Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko.

The deliberations are to be conducted in strict observance of the judicial regulations creating and organizing the meeting, the Zairian head of state said. He was certainly referring to his ordinance calling for the forum and limiting its sovereignty, in particular in setting the agenda and the regulations as well as electing the bureau.

On a more general level, it is recalled that the conference is empowered to deal with all matters not already settled by the Constitution. According to the ordinance, all decisions to be made on a matter relating to the Constitution of the Republic, the organization of the transition period for example, should be submitted first to a referendum.

Monsignor Monsengwo, who presented himself as the "fireman there to extinguish all fires," analyzed Mobutu's message for the benefit of the participants and expressed satisfaction with their "shared points of view." According to him, the difference lies notably in the significance given to the concept of sovereignty of the national conference and the management of the transition period.

Therefore, the discussions that took place on the agenda on 15 June are in conformity with the legal provisions. On that point, the head of state completely agrees with the participants, the chairman of the conference added. He further said that this includes the main objective of the deliberations—the writing of the draft constitution.

As for the transition government, Monsignor Monsengwo disclosed that Marshal Mobutu does not exclude the possibility of consulting the conference for the designation of the prime minister, the act of appointing him being exclusively the privilege of the president of the Republic.

For the Zairian head of state, observers recall, the appointment of the prime minister and even the distribution of power during the transition period are included in the category of issues settled in the constitutional amendment of July 1990 that was adopted by Parliament three months after the announcement by President Mobutu of the introduction of multiparty politics in Zaire.

Ethiopia

EPRDF, IFLO Issue Communique on Agreements

EA2006181092 Addis Ababa Voice of Ethiopia Network in Amharic 1725 GMT 18 Jun 92

[Joint communique issued by the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front, EPRDF and the Islamic Front for the Liberation of Oromo, IFLO; place and date not given]

[Text] Repeated discussions have been held between the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front and the Islamic Front for the Liberation of Oromo since last May in an attempt to solve the current problems through the ongoing peaceful and democratic transitional process, to allow our country to enjoy perfect peace, and to enable its people to be the full beneficiaries of the democratic rights achieved through (?their) struggle.

In these repeated discussions, which were attended by Sudanese Government observers who were selected jointly by the two organizations, past problems and their causes were assessed and it was agreed to take steps in order to guarantee future peace. The EPRDF and IFLO have agreed that the organizations should take advantage of the peaceful and democratic situation created in our country, should carry out their political objectives, and should accept the will of the people. They have affirmed that they are ready to be guided by this joint principle.

They have also agreed that in order to enable the transitional government to implement the decree to put armed forces into camps so as to carry out peaceful and democratic elections—the IFLO army, which has not yet encamped, should now encamp. After assessing the impact the IFLO army, which has not yet been encamped, might have on the peaceful democratic process, they decided to put this army into designated camps in accordance with the transitional government's decree.

This agreement should make a great contribution to achieving peace in areas where it has been disrupted by putting the IFLO army into camps instead of having it move about freely outside the schedule set by the decree and after the armed forces of other organizations have been more or less encamped. It will enable the people to benefit from their rights.

As the agreement was reached at a time when people are preparing to hold regional administrative elections, which is the greatest practical evidence that their democratic rights are being implemented, its contribution toward the success of the elections will be very great. This joint action taken by the IFLO and EPRDF will help to strengthen peace and democracy. Hence the two organizations strongly affirm that [words indistinct] implementation.

Council of Representatives Approves Budget Bill

EA2106221592 Addis Ababa Voice of Ethiopia Network in Amharic 1800 GMT 20 Jun 92

[All figures as heard]

[Text] It is reported that recurrent and capital expenditure under the government budget for the year 1984 [1991-92] will total 4.651,000,759 million birr. This was disclosed today after the 46th regular session of the Council of Representatives of the Transitional Government of Ethiopia. The budget bill was approved and adopted by the Council of Representatives unanimously. The 1991-92 budget was prepared by the Council of Ministers and assessed and presented by the standing committee of the Council of Representatives for economic affairs conforms to Part III, Article IX/E of the transitional charter. The budget provides 3.165 million birr for recurrent expenditures, while 1,486,759 million birr is set aside for capital expenditures.

Kenya

Moi Issues Warning in Londiani on Lawlessness

EA1906215592 Nairobi Kenya Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1600 GMT 19 Jun 92

[Excerpt] His Excellency President Daniel arap Moi today visited Londiani [Rift Valley Province] and called for an end to cases of murder, arson, and cattle rustling in the area.

Addressing wananchi [citizens] at (kamsiruchet) and Londiani town, the president said that he had been perturbed by the recent reports of tribal clashes resulting in murder and arson in the area. He warned that anyone caught engaging in these acts of lawlessness would suffer the full force of the law.

Noting that nobody was allowed to play about with the government and people's lives, the president further cautioned those using money to fan tribal animosity that they risked grave consequences. At the same time he told religious leaders to preach peace among the people, as expected of them by the holy books.

The president told the people that anyone found burning someone else's house would be made to rebuild a similar facility. The president observed that hate breeds death and called on all ethnic groups to continue living in peace and harmony. However, he noted that mutual respect was the first step toward ethnic harmony. He instructed district officers and chiefs to hold frequent barazas [meetings] to educate wananchi on various government policies and [the] need for peace as prerequisite to development. [passage omitted]

Paper Says Relations With Libya To Be Restored EA2006185092 Nairobi KTN Television in English 0500 Gh/T 19 Jun 92

[From the press review]

[Text] Kenya and Libya will soon restore diplomatic relations. This could lead to a new and much-needed source of aid and investment outside the Western donor circle. Page 13 of THE STANDARD (?states) this new development in the unfolding Kenyan political drama.

Uganda

Museveni Returns, Views U.S. Visit, Rio Summit EA2106184092 Kampala Radio Uganda Network in English 0600 GMT 21 Jun 92

[Excerpt] President Yoweri Museveni has returned home from the Earth Summit on the environment held in Rio de Janeiro and a private visit to the USA. Talking to journalists at Entebbe Airport after his return last night, President Museveni said that although the summit did not produce significant results due to vested interests of one region, it created more awareness of the need to protect the environment. Mr. Museveni also said that while in Brazil he met the Brazilian president, whom he talked with about the need for a coffee production strategy.

He also said that while in America he met officials of the various bodies and businessmen, who, he said, are enthusiastic to come and do business and investment in Uganda. Mr. Museveni, however, regretted that some officials in the civil service have been discouraging foreign investors by asking them [for] bribes if they have to get business in the country. As a result, the president said, many projects have been derailed. President Museveni cautioned those involved in such negative deals that he is going to be ruthless and will fight them head-on. He also creed the media to exploit the prevailing freedom of the press in the country and expose such corrupt officials in the country. He, however, advised the media to be objective in their work, saying that some journalists were misusing the prevailing freedom of press and abusing Ugandans, especially government officials.

Reacting to questions from the press about debts owed by the ministries to companies and suppliers, President Museveni said that the clearing of the old debts should be given top priority in the next budget and that no ministry will pay for the new bills before it has cleared the old ones.

Concerning talk from the politicians and some members of the public that the government exercise to reduce the Army and civil service will lead to the formation of bad groups, President Museveni dismissed such talk as unnecessary for ar. He said that the exercise would be conducted in such a way that there will be no need for such group formations. [passage omitted]

Further on Government, ANC Reaction to Massacre

ANC Criticizes De Klerk Visit

MB2006100592 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0931 GMT 20 Jun 92

[SAPA PR Wire Service: "Media Statement: We Demand Action, Not De Klerk's Crocodile Tears" issued by African National Congress, ANC, on 20 June]

[Text] The African National Congress is shocked and dismayed at the planned visit of President F W de Klerk to the scene of the Boipatong massacre. It seems that his insensitivity to the grief of our people knows no bounds. After having created the climate for this massacre with his statements about a plan to counter mass action and the mobilisation of the army and the police he now wants to indulge in a cynical public relations exercise. Where was he in the past when our people were killed at Swanieville a year ago? Not a single suspect has been apprehended for that massacre.

While De Klerk tries to create the impression that he cares, there is disturbing evidence that the violence is escalating. Yesterday the police arrested six youths in Boipatong. They were beaten up in front of their families and taken to Sebokeng police station. When their families went there to look for them the police told them that they can fetch them today at the mortuary. This is happening while the police haven't yet entered kwa-Madala hostel where the attackers of the Slovo squatter camp came from. Last night attacks were carried out at Ratanda in Heidelberg where an IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] rally will be held today. We fear it will lead to further violence.

De Klerk will try to enter Boipatong on a wave of bloodshed, fear and intimidation. He is not welcome. We demand action, not De Klerk's crocodile tears.

The African National Congress demands that :

- -Boipatong immediately be declared a national disaster
- -A fund be set up for relief of all the victims
- —A thorough investigation must be conducted leading to the arrest and prosecution of all those who are directly or indirectly responsible
- All local police commanders must be dismissed as demonstrably incompetent
- —An ecumenical-interfaith national day of mourning must be declared on the 27th of June—the day of the funeral
- —An international commission of inquiry must investigate the Boipatong massacre and all other acts of violence, and an international violence monitoring team be allowed to enter the country immediately.

We have reached a crucial time in the history of our country. The violence, the incompetence and callousness of this government is destroying our country. Loipatong is a national tragedy. All South Africans who are committed to peace and justice must now stand together and demonstrate their solidarity with the victims of this massacre.

Issued by: Department of Information and Publicity

P O Box 61884

Marshalltown, 2107

20 June 1992

De Klerk 'Chased' Out

MB2006120492 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1135 GMT 20 Jun 92

[By Susan Thomas]

[Text] Boipatong, Vaal Triangle June 20 SAPA—Fifteen armoured vehicles moved in to cut off an incensed crowd of about 3,000 people as President F W de Klerk was chased from the Vaal Triangle's Boipatong township on Saturday [20 June]. A SAPA reporter at the scene said the situation had been extremely tense.

Mr de Klerk flew to the area on Saturday morning after an estimated 40 people were massacred on Wednesday [17 June] night. [Umtata Capital Radio in English at 1100 GMT on 20 June reports on the state president's visit to Boipatong and adds: "However his visit was short-lived as residents accused him of complicity in Wednesday [17 June] night's massacre. De Klerk reportedly looked terrified as hundreds of enraged youths swarmed around his car screaming: Go away, murderer."]

He is about to address a press conference at a military base outside the township.

The visit was meant to be secret, with journalists accompanying the entourage uninformed of their destination until the last moment. When the president got to Boipatong, however, the residents were waiting for him. Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel, Constitutional and Planning Minister Gerrit Viljoen and former Conservative Party now independent MP Koos van der Merwe were also in the party.

Pan Africanist Congress leaders Dikgang Moseneke, Barney Desai and Benny Alexander were also in the township on Saturday morning. This was to show support for the community, said Mr Desai.

A large angry crowd surrounded Mr de Klerk's entourage as it moved into Boipatong. One resident, African National Congress supporter James Mphamela, said: "We are all very angry about his presence here. He should never have come."

Placards said, "FW is a killer," and "FW go home."

De Klerk News Conference

MB2006124192 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1218 GMT 20 Jun 92

[By Susan Thomas]

[Text] Boipatong, Vaal Triangle June 20 SAPA—In an extremely well-planned operation, elements in Boipatong were apparently mobilised to wreck his visit to the township, the president said on Saturday. Speaking at a news conference outside Boipatong, Mr de Klerk said he was shocked by his experience, in which he was chased from the township by about 3,000 incensed youths.

He said the secret of his visit had been leaked to the press and certain elements had obviously utilised this information. Until about 20 minutes before his entourage arrived police had advised the situation was safe. "So it was very efficiently planned," said Mr de Klerk.

South Africa would not be allowed to fall into a state of anarchy, he promised, and reiterated his call to all political leaders to refrain from reaction which could contribute to violence. Hinting at the reintroduction of a state of emergency, he said, "we may have to look beyond the present measures to maintain law and order to uphold the safety of all South Africans. It will be a very sorry day if we are forced to go back to a state of emergency," he said, however. There are various possibilties and we will have to look at all."

The president was heavily critical of accusations, made by African National Congress [ANC] Secretary General Cyril Ramaphosa, of his alleged complicity in the Boipatong massacre, in which an estimated 40 people were killed on Wednesday. He was also extremely critical of the ANC's mass action campaign.

Hint of New Emergency

MB2006193792 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in English 1803 GMT 20 June 92

[Excerpts] The government may be poised to reintroduce emergency regulations. This follows a turbulent morning of events which saw the state president visit Boipatong near Vanderbijlpark, the scene of this week's massacre, only to be met with a hostile reception from a large crowd. After learning that there had been three more deaths following his visit President F.W. de Klerk said the government might have to look beyond the present measures to curtail violence if the present instability continued. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Reporter Linda van Tilburg] Speaking at a news conference in Vereeniging afterward, Mr. de Klerk said he was shocked to learn that there had been more deaths after his visit. He said he had not expected the visit to turn out the way it did.

[De Klerk] How can we expect them to react differently if they see on television leading members of the ANC [African National Congress] associating themselves with

posters saying 'De Klerk or [Law and Order Minister] Kriel wanted for murder'— and when a man like Mr. Ramaphosa, the secretary general of the ANC, in one of the most pernicious political statements that I think have been made since the 2d of February 1990, comes to the fore and accuses the government of being part and parcel of this dastardly murder which has taken place on 50 people? I reject that inference and accusation with utter contempt. The argument, trying to couple statistics with regard to deaths and violence to my term of office is a fallacious argument. Maybe, maybe one should ask whether it can be coupled to the 2d of February at the unbanning of the ANC and the SACP [South African Communist Party].

[Van Tilburg] Mr. de Klerk made it clear that the present level of violence could not be allowed to continue. If it did not abate, he said, his government would have no option but to take stricter measures to bring the situation under control.

[De Klerk] The government is monitoring the situation throughout our country carefully. We will not allow this country to fall into a state of anarchy. We will not hand over this country into a state of chaos. And if necessary, we'll try to avoid it at all costs. We'll have to look beyond the present measures to maintain law and order and to ensure the safety of men, women, and children in our country—to safeguard the right of those who want to work, those who want to earn a living, those who want to care for their families. The future of this country must be built on reconciliation, not on conflict. [end recording]

Mandels Gets 'Warm' Welcome

MB2106104592 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1013 GMT 21 Jun 92

[By Hilka Birns]

[Text] Johannesburg June 21 SAPA—Violence-ravaged Boipatong gave a warm and tumultuous welcome to ANC President Nelson Mandela when he visited the dusty Vaal Triangle township on Sunday.

In scenes strongly contrasting to President F W de Klerk's visit on Saturday, thousands of singing residents lined the streets as Mr Mandela's calvacade made its way through the township.

Ululating women shouted: "We love you Mandela."

Chanting and dancing African National Congress [ANC] supporters surrounded the ANC leader as he went on a short walkabout in the nearby Slovo Park squatter camp, conveying his condolences to victims of Wednesday's massacre which claimed at least 39 lives.

Placards held aloft by supporters said: "Welcome Comrade Madiba [Mandela"s nickname]." Mr Mandela smiled, giving the black power salute to his followers.

Residents interviewed without exception welcomed his visit to the township.

"This is the right guy to come. He is the true leader. He represents the masses as you can see here. De Klerk does not have a big support," said a resident who asked only to be identified as "Sly".

The ANC leader, at an informal briefing in the township later, said that the ANC's political work would in future be determined by what "FW, the NP [National Party], and Inkatha have done to our people. I have never seen such cruelty," he said.

He told his supporters: "We are no longer dealing with normal human beings, but with animals."

Mr Mandela said he would react in more detail at a rally in the nearby Evaton township later on Sunday.

The main road between Boipatong and Evaton resembled a war zone with burnt out cars, boulders, matresses and burnt out trees littering the street.

Journalists finding their way to the Evaton rally described the road as an "obstacle course".

Mandela Suspends Talks

MB2106174992 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1704 GMT 21 Jun 92

[By Hilka Birns]

[Text] Johannesburg June 21 SAPA—African National Congress [ANC] President Nelson Mandela on Sunday announced his organisation had temporarily suspended bilateral talks with the South African Government in anger at Wednesday's massacre of 42 people in Boipatong in the Vaal Triangle.

"The negotiation process is completely in tatters," he told a militant rally attended by about 20,000 supporters after being triumphantly received by residents who on Saturday angrily chased away State President F W de Klerk who had intended to pay a goodwill visit.

Mr. Mandela said he had instructed ANC Secretary General Cyril Ramaphosa to cancel a bilateral meeting scheduled for Tuesday [23 June] with the De Klerk government. Instead, the ANC National Executive Committee (NEC) would hold an urgent meeting on that day to discuss its options.

"I can no longer explain to our people why we continue to talk to a government which is murdering our people.

"We are back in the Sharpeville days," he said. "The gulf between the oppressed and the oppressor has become unbreachable."

Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) delegates have previously state 1 that without a breakthrough in bilateral talks between the government and the ANC, there could be no progress in negotiations for democracy.

At a press conference after the rally, Mr. Mandela said the position of ANC delegates, due to meet in a Codesa subcommittee on Monday, was "as it is", pending alternative instructions from the ANC leadership after Tuesday's NEC meeting.

Quizzed about supporters' calls at the rally for a more militant political approach, Mr. Mandela said: "The duty of a mass organisation is to listen to the masses. We must take account of their feelings, but that is a matter for the NEC."

Youngsters at the gathering shouted "we want arms", and held aloft placards reading "Mandela give us permission to kill our enemies".

At the rally, the ANC leader reacted strongly to Mr. de Klerk's threat of a possible reintroduction of a state of emergency.

"Let me warn him. The introduction of anti-democratic measures today will result in a defiance campaign, with me leading that defiance campaign," he told cheering supporters.

The ANC would continue its campaign of mass action, he said.

He also called for a day of national mourning and stay-away on the day of the funeral of Boipatong massacre victims, the date of which is yet to be announced.

The ANC would further request that its leader be permitted to address a special session of the United Nation's Security Council on Wednesday night's massacre.

Putting the blame for the carnage on the government's shoulders, Mr. Mandela claimed the killings were "the result of contingency plans" by the state president to counter the ANC's mass action campaign aimed at forcing an interim government.

In a strongly worded attack, he criticised the state's apparent inability to quell South Africa's violence which claimed at least 112 lives in the past week. At least 17 people died in unrest, mostly in the Vaal Triangle, at the weekend.

"Just as the Nazis in Germany killed people because they were Jews, in South Africa (Mr.) de Klerk, the National Party and Inkatha (Freedom Party) are killing people simply because they are blacks," an angry Mr. Mandela charged.

He criticised what he described as Mr. de Klerk's audacity in trying to visit Boipatong where people had been killed with weapons legalised by his government. "We welcome his sympathy, but it comes with crocodile tears."

Mr. Mandela said the ANC had made an initial donation of R[rand]100,000 towards a disaster fund for unrest victims nationwide and challenged the government to

"contribute more than the R8-million of taxpayers' money they gave to (the) Inkatha (Freedom Party)", in a reference to the "Inkathagate" scandal.

De Klerk Sees Exploitation

MB2206071492 Johannesburg South African Broadcasting Corporation Network in Afrikaans 1800 GMT 22 Jun 92

[Text] The state president says it is unacceptable that certain political leaders are exploiting the tragedy at Bopaitong for their own political gains. Mr. de Klerk was the guest speaker at a luncheon organized by the Tuberculosis Association in Pretoria last night.

[Begin recording] [Reporter Estelle Pienaar] The contrast between the posh dinner in aid of the Tuberculosis Association, with its privileged guests who had dug deep into their pockets out of compassion for their fellow beings to curb tuberculosis and to assist sufferers from the disease, and the poverty and unemployment of the underdeveloped community of Bopaitong where President de Klerk paid a visit yesterday could not have been more evident. It was this contrast that caused President de Klerk to deviate from his prepared speech and instead, to speak from his heart to those present. His message was short and precise: Let us build bridges to each other and eradicate the gap between the privileged and the less privileged.

[De Klerk] The normal, hardworking, dedicated, loyal, peace-loving citizen of South Africa is entitled to keep what he has worked for. [switches to English] But then, yes, we also have those who have nothing to lose, because they don't have anything. And our challenge is to offer them a vision, to create for them an opportunity. To open for them new horizons. That is the challenge that we have accepted. [end recording]

De Klerk Departs for Spain

MB2106131692 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1217 GMT 21 Jun 92

[Text] Johannesburg June 21 SAPA—State President F W de Klerk had left for a short visit to Spain, SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] radio news reported on Sunday [21 June]. He would hold talks with the Spanish monarch and prime minister, the radio reported. He would also meet bankers and businessmen wanting to invest in South Africa and on Wednesday he would visit the South African pavillion at the World Trade Exposition in Seville.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha was appointed acting state president in Mr de Klerk's absence

Pik Botha Urges Talks

MB2106183892 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1810 GMT 21 Jun 92

[By Pierre Claassen, political correspondent]

[Text] Cape Town June 21 SAPA—Acting State President Pik Botha has called for urgent talks with the African National Congress [ANC] to consider the facts and issues surrounding Wednesday's Boipatong massacre.

He issued a statement reaffirming the government's commitment to negotiations after ANC President Nelson Mandela suspended bilateral talks at a Vaal Triangle rally on Sunday.

Mr. Botha, acting state president while Mr. F W de Klerk is on a private visit to Spain, said a government representative had on Sunday morning suggested to a senior ANC member there should be a meeting to discuss Boipatong.

He had suggested the meeting take place the same day, but the ANC had not reacted to the proposal.

"I repeat our proposal," Mr. Botha said.

"Urgent talks are necessary to discuss all the factors and the facts concerning the Boipatong tragedy."

Threats were not going to produce solutions.

"The government remains committed to finding solutions through discussion," Mr. Botha said.

Mr. Botha said it was a pity the ANC took refuge in evasion when an objective analysis of the facts and a clinical approach to the causes of violence was required.

"The ANC knew its planned mass action was going to heighten tensions in the country, that strikes would result and that patients in hospitals may die.

"The ANC also knows that the police alone cannot change the climate of violence in this country. There is a responsibility which rests on all leaders to call for calm from their followers and to act in a reconciliatory manner."

It served no useful purpose to sling accusations at one other without some self-examination.

"That only means we are not solution-orientated, but rather conflict-directed," he said.

Mr. Botha said the government was deeply shocked at the soulless butchery at Boipatong.

"It hit us as hard and is as painful as it is for any other party," he said.

That was why President F W de Klerk had gone to Boipatong—to meet the people and sympathise.

"All leaders must have the right to move freely in any part of the country to encourage our people to lay down their arms."

It was now clear that radicals had planned to sabotage the visit and to whip up emotions to a level where violence ensued. "It remains a fact that conflict and withdrawal is no alternative to negotiation," Mr. Botha said.

The vast majority of South Africans wanted a negotiated settlement. There was no other long-term solution.

The government was aware there were obstacles to negotiations. These were not only because of deep-seated differences between the government and the ANC, but also as a result of fundamental differences between the ANC and other parties.

Pik Botha Interview

MB2206110792 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in Afrikaans 1800 GMT 21 Jun 92

[Text] Foreign Minister Pik Botha has said in reaction to statements by African National Congress [ANC] President Nelson Mandela that it is a pity the ANC continues to take refuge in evasion when objective analysis of the facts and a clinical consideration of the causes of violence is demanded. Estelle Pienaar spoke to Mr. Botha in Pretoria, and asked him for his reaction.

[Begin recording] [Botha] A member of the government this morning phoned a senior member of the ANC, after consultation, and proposed that we meet today to discuss the tragic events at Boipatong; that we consider and examine all the facts objectively. We got no reaction from the ANC, except Mr. Mandela's declaration later in the afternoon. But I stand by the government's commitment to negotiations. There is no alternative. The tension may increase. Parties may believe that threats and intimidation can bring a solution. It will not. After every conflict, after every battle, after every act of violence, there remains only one solution, and that is to sit around a table and discuss all the facts clinically and objectively, to accept each other's good faith, to put oneself in the other man's shoes and ask: Why does he do what he does? Why does he say what he says? Throughout the ages, there has been no solution but this. It does not matter what the ANC says or what threats they make. In the end, they will be forced, they will be forced by their own followers, to accept the reasonableness of negotiation, of dialogue, of clinical analysis of all the facts, and not only those which happen to suit oneself.

[Pienaar] Minister, it's all very well to say the government is committed to negotiations, and that negotiation is the only answer, but what is the government going to do about this situation, which is rapidly getting totally out of control?

[Botha] First, we are carefully watching the situation from hour to hour. When we, the members of government get together, we analyze and we ask ourselves constantly the one question: What is in the best interest of South Africa and all its people—not the National Party, but South Africa and all its people. And the image created by President de Klerk's steps and initiatives worldwide, is one of a reasonable person, a philanthropic person, a courageous person who was prepared to hold a

referendum, who was prepared to tell the whites of South Africa: Say farewell to apartheid and racism. That is what he was prepared to do. The ANC leadership is not prepared to resort to unpopular actions.

[Pienaar] Should everything fail, if the ANC should suspend the negotiation process, in the event of Codesa's [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] dying an early death, what is the government going to do?

[Botha] We remain committed to negot a tion as the only workable, long-term solution to our country's problems. You must remember one thing: After everything that we all have been through, we could not expect a solution to be found overnight peacefully. Too much has happened, too much has happened which has disturbed and upsetand is still upsetting-people from all sides of the spectrum. We have to, in all humility, say to each other that what we have done could not have been done calmly, and we have to say constantly to our people: Please, we only have one South Africa. The people of this country were created by God. We have to join together this clay out of which we are made, to form a unit. We must carry on believing, we must continue to be tolerant toward each other. We cannot find a new constitution through intimidation or through threats. We all have to learn that lesson, we must be less critical of each other, and rather look more to the future. I predict it will eventually happen, and above all, we must pray more. [end recording]

President's Trip Cut Short

MB2206093892 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0925 GMT 22 Jun 92

[Text] Pretoria June 22 SAPA—State President F. W. de Klerk has decided to cut short his trip to Spain in view of the ANC [African National Congress] National Executive Council's decision to convene on Tuesday [23 June], Acting State President and Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha said on Monday. In a statement to SAPA, Mr. Botha said Mr. de Klerk was continually being informed about developments in the country after his departure to Spain on Sunday and was being consulted.

Despite cutting short his trip Mr. de Klerk will keep his appointments with Spanish King Juan Carlos, and the Spanish prime minister, industrialists and bankers, Mr Botha said.

Mr. de Klerk will return in time to chair Wednesday's [24 June] Cabinet meeting. Mr. de Klerk's wife, Marike, assisted by Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Renier Schoeman, will represent the state president at the South African Flag Day at the Seville, Spain Expo on Wednesday.

Kriel Calls For Investigation of Police Action

MB1906180792 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1650 GMT 19 Jun 92

[Text] Cape Town June 19 SAPA—Minister of Law and Order Hernus Kriel on Friday [19 June] said he had

requested the commissioner of police to provide within six days a full report on the truth or otherwise of allegations as well as the actions of the SAP [South African Police] prior to and during the Boipatong massacre.

"As soon as the report is received, I will decide on further action based on factual information," Mr. Kriel said in a statement from Cape Town.

The minister was responding to claims by some residents that police had been warned about an impending attack, but had failed to respond in time.

Others also alleged the 200-odd attackers were transported to the Slovo squatter settlement in Boipatong on Wednesday night in police vehicles.

Expressing condolences with the families of the deceased and maimed, Mr. Kriel gave the assurance the government would ensure justice was done.

"If any member of the public have any facts which relates to the incident at their disposal, they are earnestly requested to make them available as a matter of urgency," he concluded.

Criticizes ANC Claims

MB1906193192 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in Afrikaans 1800 GMT 19 Jun 92

[Interview with Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel by Clarence Keyter—live]

[Text] [Keyter] We are in direct contact with the minister of law and order, Mr. Hernus Kriel. Mr. Kriel, you are aware of Mr. Ramaphosa's allegations. Your reaction please.

[Kriel] Good evening. Look, we are tired of the predictable and reprehensible actions of the ANC [African National Congress]. As soon as there are deaths in our country, then F.W. de Klerk and the security police get blamed. The violence in the country is not the fault of the government or the security forces. One of the biggest contributory factors to the violence in this country is the ANC.

Did we forget that, yesterday or the day before yesterday, more than 40 people were killed as a direct result of mass action, and that mass action comes from the ANC and the Communists? Ramaphosa is criticizing us because we have a plan to control mass action. What does Mr. Ramaphosa want us to do? Does he want us to do nothing about the situation while people are dying in hospitals, while people are being intimidated into staying away from work to force them to participate in protests?

This government does not kill people. The ANC is using the tragic deaths of citizens of our country to score political points. I think this is scandalous. Mr. Ramaphosa bases his entire speech on allegations. There is not a shred of evidence to back what he is saying. Sir, I think this is also scandalous. As you have already seen, earlier in this bulletin, I issued orders for this matter to be investigated, but I think it is time for the ANC to accept its responsibility and to stop blaming the government for the misdeeds being committed in this country.

[Keyter] Mr. Kriel, just a quick question: What about Mr. Ramaphosa's allegations that there are eyewitnesses who saw people being ferried to the area in police vehicles?

[Kriel] Those eyewitnesses and Mr. Ramaphosa—I would appreciate it if they make that evidence available to us so that it can be investigated and followed wo. I want to give the assurance that if this is true then accon will be taken. On the other hand, if this is not true, then we expect an apology from the ANC and Mr. Ramaphosa. The government will ensure the maintenance of law and order.

[Keyter] Mr. Kriel, thank you for your time tonight, on a Friday night. Have a pleasant weekend.

[Kriel] Thank you very much.

NP 'Shocked' at Ramaphosa Statements on De Klerk MB1906201592 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1950 GMT 19 Jun 92

[Text] Cape Town June 19 SAPA—The National Party [NP] is shocked and dismayed at the attempt by ANC [African National Congress] Secretary General Cyril Ramaphosa to hold State President F W de Klerk responsible for the Boipatong massacre.

Mr. Piet Coetzer, head of the NP Information Service, said in a statement on Friday [19 June] Mr. Ramaphosa conveniently forgot or deliberately kept quiet about a senior ANC member, Mr. Harry Gwala's recent highly provocative statements and threats about bloodletting.

"Mr. Ramaphosa claims that more black people have lost their lives during the three years that Mr. de Klerk has been in power than during 40 years of National Party government.

"What he fails to say is that violence flared up only in the last two years of the state president's term after the ANC had been unbanned."

Mr. Coetzer said it was high time the ANC and its leadership exercised the moral courage to repudiate people like Mr. Gwala who acted provocatively in a highly volatile climate.

"It is now time for them to practically commit themselves to promoting real peace instead of doing their utmost to disrupt the lives of ordinary South Africans."

Peace Accord Chairman Comments on Boipatong

MB2106193392 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1855 GMT 21 Jun 92

[Text] Johannesburg June 21 SAPA—The scheduled meeting on July 30 of all the signatories of the National Peace Accord (NPA) should be brought forward and the Boipatong massacre should be referred to the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry as a matter of extreme urgency, NPA Chairman John Hall said on Sunday.

Responding to the massacre and subsequent events, Mr Hall said in a statement that events had led to accusations and blame, heightening tensions with threats and counter-threats undermining the spirit and contract of the NPA.

"The Boipatong violence has rocked South Africa, undermined the confidence of her citizens and shocked the world. People must be asking, what price the Peace Accord?"

Mr Hall said the National Peace Executive (NPE) met on Thursday to consider the horror of Boipatong, to consider the impact of and response to mass action, and to prepare for a meeting of all signatories of the Peace Accord on July 30, which would be attended by State President F W de Klerk, African National Congress President Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosutho Buthelezi.

Regarding Boipatong, it was recommended that it be referred for urgent attention to the Goldstone Commission which meets on July 2.

On the issue of mass action, the ANC had committed itself to clause 2.5 of the Peace Accord which requires hot-line communication between police and the ANC, Mr Hall said.

In addition, the NPE requested that a 48-hour notice be given of the type and the location of the action being undertaken.

The July 30 meeting, called to statistically review the performance of the NPA since its inception and to examine the way ahead, should be brought forward as the NPA, with negotiations at Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] deadlocked, provided channels for communication which should be used to overcome the present crisis, Mr Hall said.

"Between now and then, the leaders must stop accusations, let the Goldstone Commission do its work, let the courts do their work and let criminals, including errant policemen, be convicted for their crimes."

The processes of the NPA should also be allowed to monitor the progress of the Boipatong investigation, Mr Hall said.

"We must harness all skills to avoid a slide into anarchy. The leadership inspired the negotiation of the Peace Accord. It must now be used as an accord to handle crises. The alternative is unthinkable."

Tutu Calls For Withdrawal From Olympic Games

MB2206120992 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1132 GMT 22 Jun 92

[Text] Cape Town June 22 SAPA—Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu on Monday said South Africa should either withdraw or be expelled from the Olympic Games if the government did not accede to one of three demands to end the violence and achieve a political settlement in the country.

"If we allow the situation to deteriorate much further, we will end up with a Yugoslavian nightmare in which international observers will come too late to prevent outright civil war," he said at a lunchtime service in St George's Cathedral in Cape Town.

The anti-apartheid cleric then outlined three methods of achieving peace.

"There must be inter-party agreement, either through the mechanisms of the national peace committee or through Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa], on the immediate constitution of an international monitoring force," Archbishop Tutu said.

He also called for an end to the "bickering and power play" at Codesa and for politicians to stop trading insults and making political capital out of the violence, while he urged the government to bring to justice those responsible for the Boipatong massacre.

"This does not just mean that people should be arrested and appear in court—the trial must begin as a matter of urgency and we must see the guilty convicted and sentenced without undue delay."

Another demand was that agreement, through the NPC [National People's Congress] or Codesa, had to be reached for multi-party control of the security forces.

"Pending the implementation of this agreement, Mr (F W) de Klerk must take over personal responsibility for the security forces, particularly the functions of minister of law and order," Archbishop Tutu said.

"If at least one of these demands is not met before the Olympic Games begin, then the South African team to the Olympic Games must withdraw."

He said that when South Africa returned to the Olympic Games it must be done in a spirit of celebration and unity. This could not be achieved while the country was in a national state of mourning for the dead and while caught up in a deepening political crisis.

"Those who choose to insulate themselves from the suffering and grief caused by this horrific slaughter must realise that they cannot have both a Boipatong and Barcelona. "If our Olympic committee does not withdraw the team, then it must be expelled from the forthcoming games and I am calling today on our friends around the world to begin a campaign to achieve that end," he said.

Archbishop Tutu said that before embarking upon this course he intended to seek an interview with Mr de Klerk to discuss the violence with him and to warn him that "I intended returning to the international community if he does not act immediately".

AZAPO Official Comments on Boinatong, Talks

MB2206111392 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1029 GMT 22 Jun 92

[Text] Durban Jun 22 SAPA—Liberation movements had to stay away from any negotiations with the government and the Azanian People's Organisation [AZAPO] would be happy only when the ANC [African National Congress] took a decisive step to pull out of Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa], according to AZAPO Publicity Secretary Strini Moodley.

Mr Moodley said on Monday [22 June] events at Boipatong this weekend had demonstrated that black people had no faith or respect for State President F W de Klerk. Mr de Klerk was forced to leave the Vaal township by angry residents on Saturday. He had intended paying a goodwill visit to the community after it was rocked by the massacre of 39 people last week.

"Their (Boipatong residents) message is a clear one. Liberation movements must stay away from negotiations of any sort with the regime," said Mr Moodley. "AZAPO will only be happy when the ANC takes a decisive step to pull out of Codesa and to stop its bilateral talks with the Nationalist regime. We believe such a step will reflect the mood of the vast majority of black people in the country."

Mr Moodley added AZAPO's deputy president, Aubrey Mokoape, had visited Boipatong at the wekend and "family members of victims and the community generally gave full support to AZAPO's stand that Codesa will not deliver liberation".

TV Panel Discussion Views Future of Talks

MB2106213992 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in English 1815 GMT 21 June 92

[Panel discussion with Dr. Pallo Jordan, African National Congress information head; Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel; Dr. Ben Ngubane of Inkatha; and National Peace Accord Chairman Dr. John Hall, moderated by John Bishop on the "Agenda" program—live]

[Text] [Bishop] We welcome to the studio from my left, Dr. Pallo Jordan, head of information of the ANC [African National Congress]—thanks for coming Dr. Jordan—the minister of law and order, Mr. Hernus Kriel; Dr. Ben Ngubane of Inkatha; and somebody you've seen before, Dr. John Hall of the Peace Accord.

Welcome. Can we start with you Dr. Jordan? The statements attributed and indeed uttered by Mr. Mandela, as we saw in the news—how are we to read them? Is all negotiation with the National Party over?

[Jordan] No, I think what the president of the ANC did indicate is that discussions which were due to take place on Tuesday between the ANC and the National Party have been suspended. Other negotiations, I don't think have been called into question. The ANC leading bodies will be meeting tomorrow and the day after, when they will review our whole attitude toward the negotiating process; that is Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa], and other contacts between ourselves and the South African Government.

[Bishop] And his, quote, you know, suspending democracy talks with the Nationalist government? What are we to make of that?

[Jordan] Well, I have referred to that already. There was a planned bilateral meeting for Tuesday.

[Bishop] Oh, is that what he means?

[Jordan] That has been suspended.

[Bishop] So it's not all embracing, you know, sort of it's over, or a long suspension, we can expect?

[Jordan] Well, after the leading bodies of the ANC meet tomorrow and the day after, I think the situation will be much clearer. He did indicate specifically the talks on Tuesday have been suspended.

[Bishop] All right. Minister, how are you reading it— I mean the government, National Party, what are you saying?

[Kriel] Well, obviously we're not very happy about the situation. We will also have to consider our position. But let me make one point very clear. We have a moral right to have a look at negotiations, to relook at negotiations. We warned about mass action, what it will lead to. We warned about the violence that will result from it. And unfortunately this has happened.

[Bishop] Are you saying that Boipatong arose out of mass action?

[Kriell I have no doubt about it.

[Bishop] Because you see other people are saying that it arose out of—and these are allegations—the police assisting Zulu-speaking members, possibly Inkatha, to kill the people of Boipatong. That it's in fact not connected. You know the allegations Minister?

[Kriel] I know of the allegations. I'm having that investigated. Preliminary investigations say that that is not true. There is also the allegation that this was in reaction to what happened on the 16th [June] when Zulu people were intimidated not to go to work. But I'm not saying that what happened is justifiable in the light of that.

[Bishop] Can I go now to Dr. Ben Ngubane. I mean Inkatha has been mentioned, as you know, in massive headlines really, connected with the Boipatong massacre. What are your comments?

[Ngubane] Well, the IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] rejects with contempt the continuing efforts by the ANC and its allies to heap every act of violence on the IFP. We did not have a program to make the country ungovernable. We did not smuggle through the youth of this country to foreign camps in foreign lands for training to kill, for sedition. We have always stood for a negotiated solution.

[Bishop] Well, fine.

[Ngubane] We did not organize any violence. We did not know about any violence.

[Bishop] You disavow any knowledge of the Boipatong massacre?

[Ngubane] Yes. None of our structures were at all aware that there would be such an incident.

[Bishop] Well, let me just tell the viewers that we will come back to this—which was of course the major headline across the world and in this country of ours—in a minute or two. We have with us Mr. John Hall of the Peace Accord. When I said the accord might be in tatters, justifiably your eyebrows raised. I think you have something to tell us about the Peace Accord. What's going on? Is it in tatters?

[Hall] Well, John, the Peace Accord is not in tatters. We still have a Peace Accord. And never before has the procedures of the Peace Accord been more necessary than at this time. It's very difficult for me to enter into any political debate, but what we are seeing here, the opening comments, perhaps of the speakers indicate some of the problems that face the country and things are moving very quickly in the country.

On Thursday evening, there was a meeting of the National Peace Executive Committee. It was a constructive meeting, it had three items on the agenda which were clearly the Boipatong massacre, the review of mass action and how it may impact on the accord, and of course the meeting, a very important meeting of all the leaders who signed the Peace Accord on the 30th of July to review the Peace Accord. Clearly at that meeting the way forward was prescribed the Boipatong, in view of all the rumors that were been spread around. [sentence as heard] There was not a clear view, and the Goldstone Commission was asked to, as a matter of great urgency, to appoint a commission. That has been done, and in fact, that will start its investigation on the 2d of July.

[Bishop] Well, of course, since Thursday we have had the abortive visit of the state president to Boipatong and statements from both sides, so let me ask again. Now it is Sunday night, is that peace accord still on track?

[Hall] Well, it, I have spoken to the political leaders today and clearly their commitment is still very much intact.

[Bishop] All of them?

[Hall] Yes, yes.

[Bishop] That is fine. I think what I want to do is just go back to the minister for the moment and say, are you absolutely certain sir that what Dr. Ben Ngubane says is true? I mean you say there is an investigation into the causes of the massacre. Dr. Ben Ngubane refutes any idea of any organized Inkhata slaughter group. Your comments.

[Kriel] Well, obviously I cannot comment on it until such time [word indistinct] have the result of the police investigation.

[Bishop] Yes.

[Kriel] I mean, otherwise I will just be speculating on that.

[Bishop] Are you just speculating Dr. Jordan on this, the ANC.

[Jordan] Well, firstly, I want to take up just two issues. (?See) the minister says that this is the result of mass action. I find that an alarming statement. In the first instance, there have been all sorts of mass demonstrations in this country, all forms of mass action. The minister has always chosen only to speak of the role that are organized by the ANC. The Sunday before June 16th, we did see a mass demonstration by Mr. Ben Magubane's supporters, armed to the teeth. They had to be armed by Minister Kriel's police...

[Bishop, interrupting] Disarmed.

[Jordan] Yes, they had to be disarmed by Mr. Kriel's police, right. I still have to hear Minister Kriel make any comment about the continuing armed demonstrations by the supporters of the IFP. He never comments on that. The first time, it was the very first time in two years that they disarm them. Now he says mass action on the part of the ANC led to violence. He makes allegations about intimidation on June 16th. Every observer testified to the fact that these were peaceful demonstrations, there were police everywhere. There were hardly any instances of intimidation reported. I find these wild and alarming allegations.

[Bishop] A reminder that this is Sunday "Agenda" live with a high-level panel. Minister, Dr. Jordan brought up the point about the lack of evenhandedness that appears to be taking place as far as the government is concerned. You don't seem to condemn Inkatha's transgressions. It's always the ANC. Comment?

[Kriel] Well, that is an accusation that's regularly made against us, but I think that Dr. Jordan proved that we do act against anybody that threatens peace in this country.

The mere fact that we confiscated thousands of dangerous weapons from Inkatha supporters proves the point.

[Bishop] And gave them back?

[Kriel] I know that that allegation has been made. But that is completely false. We gave back the shields. That's not a dangerous weapon. And we did give back some kieries [clubs], that's not dangerous weapons. But the dangerous weapons ... [pauses] but I mean a kierie or a stick you can get anywhere. So it's not that pertinent to the whole problem. The problem of the situation is that we confiscated dangerous weapons and didn't give it [as heard] back.

[Bishop] Yes, what about the action of the state president going to Ulundi on June the 16th—you will admit a significant day—albeit with goodwill? But the idea that this indicated some sort of collusion with Inkatha. Was that a wise step do you think, Minister?

[Kriel] No, let me put it to you this way. That was an appointment that was made. Dr. Ngubane will bear testimony to it. That was an appointment that was made a long time ago, and the state president just carried on. But may I just come back to one other point if you will allow me. And that is about the mass action. And let me immediately say the South African Government—we don't derive any joy from people being killed in this country. No joy at all. But what is significant is, in May of this year 160 people were killed in political unrest, 160. To date here, and we're only two thirds through the month, 196 people were killed, but what is even more significant, since mass action started on the eve of the 15th, 108 people were killed. So I'm laying the blame for the escalation of violence on mass action.

[Bishop] Well, I know Dr. Jordan wants to come in in a second, but first can we go to Dr. Ngubane. Dr. Ngubane, we saw this on TV so it's irrefutable. People certainly speaking Zulu, certainly looking as if they were in an impi [warrior] formation, at the kwaMadala Hostel, apparently refusing to let the South African Police, this nation's police force, into the hostel. I mean this seems to be absolutely incredible to observe. Can you comment on that?

[Ngubane] Well, John, you know, you give me a lot of issues. First of all, you introduce total red herrings. The state president has every right as head of state ...

[Bishop, interrupting] ...no sorry I'm not talking about him going to ...

[Ngubane, interrupting] ... you raised that issue.

[Bishop] All right yes.

[Ngubane] I mean it's totally unjustified. This is not a national holiday. For government institutions it's not a national holiday, June 16th. We are all concerned about the events of June 16th. We all note that as a very major event in the history of South Africa—like other massacres which have taken place in the past. In 1879 my nation was crushed in Ulundi by the British might. Major events. So do not then tie up ...

[Bishop, interrupting] But you see I'm not tying up anything. What I'm saying is it's the impression, the political impression that arose from that.

[Ngubane] By whom?

[Bishop] Well, you know, observers, to use a journalistic phrase. Comments in newspapers and so forth. And if it's going to happen is it a wise thing to it?

[Ngubane] No, no, then this brings me to the second point. Dr. Jordan has just introduced the issue of cultural weapons. You know this is a red herring again. We know what the cause of violence is. You cannot preach sedition, revolution for 25 years over radio, over pamphlets, through people infiltrating into the country, and expect not to have divisions in the society. What we are seeing today is not just divisions created by apartheid. But we are seeing divisions that were generated by the return of people trained in warfare, people trained in sedition. People are now forced to survive by groups forming groups. And once you form groups, people feel threatened, and you've got all types of violence, I mean criminal violence, all sorts of things happening. Why do we keep, in South Africa, running away from the real cause of violence?

[Bishop] And the question, but I did ask you, you know, just to clear it up, [word indistinct] if you could. The question about the South African Police being kept waiting 24 hours to go into a hostel to which if they have suspicion or view of suspects, they must have access. How could that happen?

[Ngubane] How do you tie that with the IFP? I mean those were people who live in that hostel.

[Bishop] Is it not a hostel filled with Zulu and IFP members?

[Ngubane] If you refer to the

[Hall, interrupting] I think John, if I may, if I may.

[Bishop] Please do.

[Hall] This is what the people of South Africa really do not want to see. The Peace Accord, it's either a valid document or it's not. The political leaders committed themselves to it and one of the cardinal rules of the Peace Accord was to look forward and not back. And violence has many masters in this country. We have an extended recession. We have drought. We have people migrating into the cities. We have poverty. We have despair. These all contribute to violence. And the lack of political cohesion is also a contributor to violence

[Kriel, interrupting] And the power struggle.

[Jordan] No, no, no with respect.

[Hall] I'd just like to finish this, that the peace accord was signed by everybody. There are mechanisms and structures in the Peace Accord to handle unsubstantiated allegations, and one of the great problems that the peace committee finds is that leadership, in fact the allegations, are all contraventions of the Peace Accord. Section 24 of the Peace Accord specifically prevents this kind of language, and we must....

[Bishop, interrupting] So, you think we should not be looking backward, or try to investigate what happened at Boipatong?

[Hall] No, Boipatong is current, but we mustn't go back deep into history, then we might as well go back to....

[Rishop, interrupting] But then I can't put restrictions on my guests, can I?

[Hall] No, I'm not asking you to do that. I'm just saying....

[Jordan, interrupting] No, with respect, with respect, the facts of the situation are as follows: On the very day the Peace Accord was signed, IFP peace supporters paraded in the street armed to the teeth. Mr. Hernus Kriel was not the minister then, but his predecessor....

[Kriel, interrupting] I was.

[Jordan] Oh you were, and you did nothing about that.

[Kriel] I will tell you what happened.

[Jordan] You did nothing about that. Subsequent to that....

[Kriel, interrupting] We discussed the meeting.

[Jordan] No, no, no.

[Kriel] Yes, we did.

[Jordan] Subsequent to that, they've had parade after parade through the streets, armed to the teeth again. You said nothing about that. I want Dr. Ngubane to explain: A) How it comes about—and Minister Kriel for that matter—how it comes about that a hostel, kwaMandala Hostel, which is a hostel to house the workers of Iscor [South African Iron and Steel Corporation], is in fact housing people who are unemployed? Mr. Kriel and his police have done nothing about that either. I would like some information about those....

[Bishop, interrupting] Right, a question to you, but I am going to have to take an advertisement break I'm afraid. So, we have made a note of that. You will have every opportunity, Dr. Ngubane to reply to that and anybody else. So, for the moment, let us just take that break. [commercial break]

[Bishop] As Mr. John Hall will tell you, the search for peace can involve a lot of wrangling and a lot of discussions. We have some of it tonight. It is not because we don't want peace. We want to get the views of our

guests, and you have to respond and you would love to respond, Dr. Ngubane, to Dr. Jordan's question about kwaMadala, the hostel, the makeup of it—unemployed people and the continuing allegation that they are Inkatha members in there. Your response?

[Ngubane] Unfortunately, we are not discussing this issue constructively, at all, Mr. Bishop. You know, we are horrified with the violence that has taken place. So, our people have crossed roads and [words indistinct] were also massacred. We never stood up and accused the ANC or anybody, although our people were massacred, 32 of them. You know, we are living in a period of extreme violence and extreme instability.

Now, what happens at Boipatong is: Cyril Ramaphosa, Mr. Ramaphosa, immediately apportions blame. He accuses the state president of complicity. His cohorts accuse the IFP because the people who were involved happened to be Zulu speaking, according to the reports. Immediately, because he is Zulu, it is IFP. This is merely fanning the flames of instability in this country and lack of tolerance.

The fact that Themba Khoza happened to be at the hostel—obviously, he is the regional organizer for the IFP in this area, and he obviously went to investigate what had happened in view of the false allegations. In fact, the secretary general of the ANC is in serious breach of the Peace Accord—and I am wondering why Mr. John Hall has not taken him to task about this—to fan the flames, to ride on a tragic event, to make ANC propaganda. This is a serious setback for the Peace Accord, if any.

As for our people carrying traditional weapons, they have done so for years. For over 200 years, they have done that. Whenever they go to functions, they do that. It was never a factor until they called for a people's war, became the vogue thing. The call to make townships ungovernable became the vogue thing. Then, people carry whatever. Some people carry Makarovs under their coats. Others have to carry a stick or a shield to defend themselves. We live in a hostile environment. I am not, I mean, apologizing or being an apologist for anyone who abuses a cultural weapon. I am not saying that. The police obviously have got to take action, but do not hitch any violence onto our people, because you are actually bedeviling the situation.

[Bishop] Do you feel you've a chance to have your say, Dr. Ngubane?

[Ngubane] Well, I could have more.

[Bishop] You know, within the context of television so far?

[Ngubane] Okay.

[Bishop] Now, what I am going to do is show you, we are going to show, for a wider perspective some views from two research institutes.

[Begin recording] [Paul Perreira of the Institute of Race Relations] Since 1984, in September of that year, when violence broke out we have had over 12,800 deaths. But since 1990, the end of the state of emergency, the liberalization process, the reforms, we have seen over half of the total deaths occur since then. In 1990, we had an average daily rate of 10 people killed a day, the most violent year; and this year looks set to be the second most violent year. We are already setting on eight per day, killings, and we will probably have 2,800 [figure as heard] deaths this year.

[Safoora Sadek of the Human Rights Commission] On the monitoring we've done, at least 85 percent of the violence and deaths and injuries can be attributed to vigilante-related action. When we talk about vigilanterelated activity, we would include both attacks by ANC and Inkatha township dwellers' hostel.

[Perreira] We use the same information that everybody uses, namely the press, monitoring groups, and police reports, and we were unable and are unable to identify the aggressors in other 84 percent of incidents. We cannot identify conflict parties in over 60 percent of incidents, and we don't quite understand how others seem to be able to do that, using the same information we have.

[Sadek] The information we have and where we have been able to identify political affiliation of victims and attackers, we have found in our records that elements within Inkatha, and particularly those based in hostel dwellings have been responsible for at least 90 percent of the attacks that have taken place.

[Perreira] Since the 1990 liberation action process, we've had far more political activity on the ground to start with, and of course, we have all seen the end of the state of emergency from that time, and unfortunately, in this country, one had to have a state of emergency simply to keep violence down, it would appear, because since that emergency has been lifted, violence has skyrocketed. [end recording]

[Bishop] Right, about 10 minutes left gentlemen. I think we agree that an investigation of Boipatong is taking place. So that to-ing and fro-ing blame at the moment seems to be fairly sterile. Let's talk now about the way ahead in the 10 minutes left.

[Kriel] I agree with you.

[Bishop] All right. Dr. Jordan, what is the way ahead. How do we get out of this spiral of violence? How do we make this country a great place to live in?

[Jordan] The spiral of violence we have always had is the direct consequence of the policies of apartheid. You see, if one wants to talk about the fact the ANC once waged an armed struggle, it didn't wage the armed struggle just for the dickens of it. It waged an armed struggle in order to get rid of apartheid and to bring democracy to this country. So, you have to put it in that context. All the

violence that we see, the hostels, are the product of the policies of apartheid. The poverty we see is a direct consequence of the policies of apartheid which is the policy which Mr. Hernus Kriel's party was perpetrating on this country and [words indistinct] in this country by force of arms. For more than 40 years...

[Bishop, interrupting] Yes, a policy which they have eschewed now.

[Jordan] Yes, now they have eschewed it in last two years, so they say. But it was the policy of that party. So, if we were to attribute blame for the problems of this country, Mr. Hernus Kriel's party bears a large measure of responsibility for that.

[Bishop] That is a responsibility of the past. Now, I ask the question: How we are going to get to peace?

[Jordan] How do we get to peace?

[Bishop] Yes.

[Jordan] Peace in South Africa will come about when we have democracy in this country. We have come to a point, for example, now at Codesa, where we are in a deadlock, and part of that deadlock is precisely because the party of Mr. Hernus Kriel represents refuses to live with the consequences of democracy. The consequences of democracy are that when you have every South African on the voters role able to participate in an election, Mr. Hernus Kriel's party which chose, of its own accord, to be a minority party, and Afrikaner ethno-nationalist party will not fair well in those elections because unfortunately the Afrikaners do not compose the majority of the people in this country.

[Kriel] Can I immediately come in?

[Bishop] Minister, yes please. You know...

[Kriel, interrupting] Can I just say, really to say that apartheid is the cause of the present violence, I think that is not the truth.

[Bishop] I don't think he said that. Is it not the question that the base of it all stems from that?

[Kriel] What I am saying is that the power struggle at the moment is the cause of violence in South Africa. That is the basic.

[Bishop] The power struggle between?

[Kriel] The power struggle between the ANC and other political parties, such as Inkatha, etc., and they will admit that that is the situation. But Mr. Bishop, please, we are not getting anywhere, we are not getting anywhere. If we talk about Boipatong, that is only a symptom of what is happening in our country. That is only a symptom of violence. What we should talk about is how do we stop the violence.

[Bishop] All right, then while I am on you, let me (?trot) a few things out, a few sort of questions out. What about

international supervision? What about an honest broker or a group of honest brokers? What about a unified peace command, governing the security forces? What about things like that?

[Kriel] Mr. Bishop, no outside force can stop the violence in this country. We have thousands of policemen trying to stop the violence in this country. They cannot bring peacekeeping forces to this country and think that they can stop the violence. The violence must be stopped by the political leaders that must commit themselves to the negotiating process.

[Bishop] John Hall, look, you are into this. You are looking for peace for all of us in a way. Comments?

[Hall] Well, I clearly can't really comment on the political side of things. The political leaders of South Africa decided that to control political violence required measures and they negotiated the Peace Accord. They are committed to that Peace Accord, even after the events of the past few days; they are committed to that accord. With Codesa's being deadlocked, the only mechanisms we really have for communication are in fact the mechanisms of the Peace Accord. There are meetings scheduled over the whole of this month with the top leadership and the way forward really demands that the Peace Accord be honored not [word indistinct] but fully as originally envisaged by the political...

[Bishop, interrupting] I will be careful and judicious not to draw you into political discussion. But would it help your task if private armies were banned across the board—AWB [Afrikaner Resistance Movement]; Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation; ANC military wing], if you want to call that a private army; the Inkatha Freedom Party's traditional weapons carriers—all of those, you could get a joint agreement they are all going to go, they are going to stack their weapons. Would that help?

[Hall] Clearly, the Peace Accord bans private armies. It bans the carrying of dangerous weapons, and there are many unresolved issues that are being negotiated at the moment via bilateral talks between the parties. They should please get their act together and conform to the accord. It is absolutely vital. This country needs political leadership at this time, and the accord actually provides the mechanism for leadership to show its capabilities.

[Bishop] And would it help then if the three major leaders—there may be others—but we are talking about the state president, Mr. Mandela, and Chief Buthelezi at a single platform could consistently call for peace, would that help?

[Hall] A recommitment to the Peace Accord happens virtually every day. We have a meaningful meeting on the 30th July which we are endeavoring to bring forward where the leaders have all.... [pausesa] right across the spectrum of political power in this country have agreed to come together to review the Peace Accord and to look for ways forward.

[Bishop] Multiparty control of all the main organs of security.

[Hall] I think that has really got be negotiated through Codesa. I am really calling on behalf of the Executive Committee of the Peace Accord for leadership not to let us down to show statesmanship.

[Bishop] We have heard from the man heading up our peace accord. Dr. Ngubane, we are looking positively now. Your suggestions for peace quickly?

[Ngubane] Well, I am always positive.

[Bishop] I know.

[Ngubane] On 14 June, the president of the IFP publicly called on Dr. Mandela to join in on peacekeeping missions, to travel up and down the country talking peace so that both organizations and their followers know that the talk is about peace. We have not had any response from Dr. Mandela.

[Bishop] Mr. Jordan, response?

[Jordan] On that particular issue?

[Bishop] Yes.

[Jordan] Well, the facts of the matter are that since Dr. Mandela emerged from prison, he has called Dr. Mangosuthu Buthelezi quite a number of times. I defy Mr. Ngubane to quote one instance in which Dr. Buthelezi has gotten the telephone and called Dr. Mandela. It has never happened. Now the facts of the matter also, I think we have to attribute blame where blame is attributable. You see it is all very well and good to talk about the thousands of the police who have tried to keep the peace. There are court case which demonstrate that the police have been implicated in the violence, Trust Feeds being the latest one. There are others, very few people in this country have confidence in Mr....

[Bishop, interrupting] The confidence in the police has been said to be a major factor but just while you are there, let us have something, if you can, more positive about solving this thing. I mean here....

[Jordan, interrupting] I am coming to that. One of the things which can be done is to bring about a situation in which people have some confidence in the police. We would say that it is urgent in fact that there be an international monitoring group because we can not trust the South African Police. I have no reason to have [word indistinct] them and thousands of people demonstrated that there had no reason to have [word indistinct] in Boipatong yesterday. And what also has to be explained is what happened after the president left.

[Bishop] A quick one because I am getting signals in my ears that we have got about one minute left, gents. Unified controlled and Dr. Jordan asking for international involvement again...

[Ngubane, interrupting] Again [words indistinct] resources of this country. Well, this is the time to get our sociologists and anthropologists looking at the sociological side of violence. We need political leaders to deal with the political side, then the capability to do it.

[Bishop] Mr. Kriel?

[Kriel] Again I want to reiterate. International peace-keeping forces won't solve our problem. The problem is a political one and must be solved politically. People must get together and stop the violence and tell their supporters: No more violence. We initiated [word indistinct] will agree with that I have asked that National Peace Committee that the three people get together, the three main leaders, and talk to the grassroots supporters.

[Bishop] May I just ask. Put it on the record again, the National Party is absolutely for democracy.

[Kriel] Oh yes, oh yes.

[Bishop] That means even loosing power?

[Kriel] Oh yes. But we also say we have to share power.

[Bishop] Last quick word from you, John Hall, our man of peace.

[Hall] Well, I think one of the things that we should perhaps end with is to express our condolences to the people who were killed and who were injured in Boipatong yesterday. And again looking for that leadership, that statesmanship that we need to take that whole violent situation to the solving of violence to a completely new level.

[Bishop] Well, thank you all very much. Thank you for coming along.

At Least 10 Injured in Clash After IFP Rally

MB2206121992 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1152 GMT 22 Jun 92

[Text] Durban Jun 22 SAPA—At least 10 people were injured in a clash after a rally by thousands of Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] supporters in Durban's kwaMashu township on Sunday [21 June], police reported. KwaZulu Police spokesman Col Moses Khanyile said the IFP supporters were on their way home from a rally at 5.30PM Sunday when they were attacked by unknown gunmen armed with AK47 rifles in kwaMashu's E and F Section. At least 10 people were seriously wounded and taken to Durban's King Edward Hospital. Col Khanyile said one attacker had been arrested by the SA [South African] Police and was in custody in kwaMashu.

SAP spokesman Capt Bala Naidoo confirmed a man had been arrested after the group was fired on. Capt Naidoo only reported five injuries, adding that police were monitoring the marchers when the attack occurred.

The ANC [African National Congress] supplied a different version of events, claiming the IFP supporters attacked houses on their way home from the rally. The home of ANC Southern Natal Chairman Jeff Radebe was apparently one of those stoned and he had rushed to the area on Monday morning after returning from business in Johannesburg, ANC spokesman Dumisane Makhaye said.

Mr Makhaye alleged the IFP group had burned and stoned several other houses in full view of the police. Most of the IFP supporters were armed with "traditional weapons", he added.

"We take the incident very seriously," said Mr Makhaye. He alleged statements made by IFP Transvaal leader Musa Myeni at the rally had led to the violence. According to newspaper reports on Monday Mr Myeni said IFP Youth Brigade members should start training for the Bhambatha Battalion—an IFP army. He also predicted war in the country because South Africa was "like a kraal with many bulls who all want to rule". Mr Myeni urged IFP members not to attack innocent people but added there should be a weapon in every Inkatha household for defence.

Mr Makhaye said: "We want to warn the IFP and Musa Myeni in particular that we shall not take this challenge lying down. We will use everything in defence of our people and the ANC has the capacity to do that. Unfortunately that time is fast approaching."

IFP Claims Offices Occupied by ANC Supporters

MB2206083692 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0826 GMT 22 Jun 92

[Text] Johannesburg June 22 SAPA—The Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] on Monday claimed its offices in central Johannesburg had been occupied by "more than a thousand" alleged ANC [African National Congress] supporters.

IFP Transvaal leader Themba Koza told SAPA the IFP was "very much disturbed" by the "provocative actions by the ANC/SACP [South African Communist Party]/ COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] alliance".

He said the people were occupying the entrance to the IFP's offices in Kerk Street.

"They are now organising speakers to address the crowd", he said.

Mr Khoza stressed the IFP would not tolerate the "clearly provocative action".

The IFP had called the SAP [South African Police] he said, but added policemen at the scene "were doing nothing".

He said the crowd had gathered in the lobby to the offices from 9am and the IFP did not know the reason for the action.

ANC [African National Congress] PWV [Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging] region Spokesman Ronnie Mamocpa denied knowledge of the incident.

"This is the first time I hear about this. I will investigate and report on the matter later," he told SAPA.

NUMSA Demonstration

MB2206101592 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0956 GMT 22 Jun 92

[By Hilka Birns]

[Text] Johannesburg June 22 SAPA—About 50 Inkatha Freedom Parthy [IFP] members on Monday [22 June] hovered nervously in their Kerk Street, Johannesburg, offices as more than 1,000 metal industry workers demonstrated in the street below. A visibly upset Inkatha Freedom Party official, Humphrey Ndlovu, told SAPA the demonstration by the National Union of Metalworkers of SA [South Africa] (NUMSA) was a provocation to the IFP.

"Let one of them come in here... he will not leave alive. Only corpses will leave this office. Let them just come in here... we are prepared," he said, pointing to about 100 cow-hide shields sprawled on the floor of the office. He said the shields had been returned to the IFP by the police recently after having been confiscated in hostel raids.

Earlier, IFP official Themba Khoza claimed the demonstrators had occupied IFP offices, but it was later established the metal workers had gathered outside NUMSA's Kerk Street offices in preparation for a march to protest against a deadlock in annual wage negotiations. The demonstration by the NUMSA members began about 11.30AM, with more than 1,000 people singing and chanting their way down Johannesburg's central streets.

Traffic came to a standstill from Rissik to Harrison Streets. Busloads of protesters were still arriving at the NUMSA offices to join the march after it had already begun. The march is expected to proceed from Kerk into Rissik, Marshall, Goud, Anderson and Sauer Streets.

Workers will hand over a memorandum to the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation of SA, the Department of Manpower and the Motor Industries Federation, complaining about the deadlock in annual wage negotiations. NUMSA Witwatersrand Regional Secretary Tony Ruiters said about 200,000 metalworkers nationwide were likely to go on strike if the final negotiations with employers were unsuccessful. He said a strike ballot would be held by the union in a month's time.

Khoza's Claims Criticized

MB2206133792 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1138 GMT 22 Jun 92

[Text] Johannesburg June 22 SAPA—The ANC [African National Congress] has slammed the Inkatha Freedom Party's [IFP] Themba Khoza for saying ANC supporters occupied IFP offices in Kerk Street, Johannesburg, on Monday [22 June] morning. Mr Khoza earlier telephoned SAPA and charged that about 100 ANC supporters had provocatively gathered at the IFP office and the police had failed to disperse them.

In a statement in Johannesburg, the ANC pointed out the protesters had gathered for a National Union of Metalworkers of SA [South Africa] (NUMSA) march. "NUMSA offices happen to be neighbouring IFP offices. At no stage were IFP offices threatened with occupation or were they ever occupied by ANC members.

"We find such a statement highly provacative and calculated to incite violence in an already charged atmosphere. It has apparently become customary for Themba Khoza to blame the ANC for anything that he fails to understand. As a result he fails to make an elementary distinction between a march and an occupation," the ANC said.

Police Criticize Use of Media for Attack Warnings

MB2206071692 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0128 GMT 22 Jun 92

[Text] Johannesburg June 21 SAPA—The police on Sunday [21 June] appealed to political organisations not to use the media to inform the police of important information pertaining to attacks in townships.

Acting regional commissioner for Soweto, Brigadier Sakkie Minnaar, said on Sunday any organisation or person with knowledge of rumours of imminent attacks should contact the police and especially supply specifics such as times, places and dates of attacks.

According to Soweto police liaison officer Captain G. Mariemuthoo, police were alerted on Sunday by a reporter to an "imminent attack to be carried out by Dobsonville Hostel inmates on Dobsonville residents which would be worse than the Boipatong massacre".

Such calls meant the unnecessary deployment of policemen in certain areas while depriving greater Soweto of effective policing, Brig Minnaar said.

Capt Mariemuthoo added that no incidents had been reported from Dobsonville.

Returned Exiles Group Writes ANC on Camps Inquiry

MB2006104392 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0243 GMT 20 Jun 92

[Text] Johannesburg June 19 SAPA—The Returned Exiles Committee on Friday [19 June] called on the African National Congress [ANC] to submit the names of members who it alleges were executed in exile. In an open letter released to SAPA, the committee—comprising former ANC detainees who the ANC claims were ex-SA [South African] Government agents—called

on the ANC to reveal its intentions with regard to sending a delegation to ANC prison camps abroad.

The letter stressed the committee would want to be part of any investigation on alleged attrocities in ANC camps and requested the organisation to expedite the matter within the year. The former exiles also wanted the delegation—intended to visit Angola, Uganda, and Tanzania—to include representatives from the International Committee of the Red Cross, Amnesty International, the International Society for Human Rights, the International Freedom Foundation and delegates from the kwa-Zulu and Ciskeian governments and the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa).

In addittion, medical and forensic experts as well as "reputable" clergymen, possibly from the the South African Council of Churches and from the Dutch Reformed Church, prominent lawyers and the media should also form part of the delegation, the committee said.

Mass Action Organizer Outlines 'Operation Exit'

MB2006165192 Johannesburg NEW NATION in Englis h 19-25 Jun 92 p 10

[Unattributed "Inside Nation" report: "Mass Action"]

[Text] The mass action or "operation exit" which was launched by the ANC [African National Congress]/ SACP [South African Communist Party]/COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] alliance has been planned to roll in four phases, which should culminate with the handing over of power by the National Party (NP) to an interim government.

New Nation discussed the stages of the mass protests with Ronnie Kasrils, member of the ANC's national executive committee and also member of the SACP central committee, who is the alliance's national organiser of the campaign.

Kasrils said phase one of the protests would be locally and regionally based: members and supporters of the alliance would march, occupy city centres and government offices and engage in other forms of civil disobedience.

"During the first phase—which started with June 16 rallies throughout the country—we are aiming to bring our people out onto the streets to protest about local issues. At the same time, people locally will bring up national demands too. This will be the focus for the rest of June," said Kasrils.

He said at the same time, the structures of the alliance as well as civic organisations and other bodies would develop new forms of mass action in order to "make it more exciting and more acceptable to people who are directly involved."

On June 26 discussions will be held by the alliance's committee responsible for the mass action programme, and details of the second phase will be formulated. This will run throughout July.

During this phase the regional and local activities, which will have run from June 16, will be co-ordinated and campaigns on a national scale will be embarked upon.

One new feature of the protests will be a campaign to mobilise whites to resist the emergency Citizen Force call-ups of the SA [South African] Defence Force. Kasrils said about this mobilisation: "We will go into where they mobilise those white 'troopies', to go and intimidate and act against those in the townships ... we will mobilise the white parents not to allow their children to be used by a discredited regime like (F.W.) De Klerk's."

ANC president Nelson Mandela also dealt with this issue during his address on June 16 at the Orlando Stadium: "The regime is again calling upon the white youth to bear the burden of apartheid ... they are dividing our youth between black and white."

The third phase will comprise of a national strike whose details are still to be worked out. This, in terms of the alliance's thinking, is not expected to be "a one-day or two-days strike, it is going to be more than that," said Kasrils.

"If the regime resists and does not accede to our demands, we are going to launch the fourth phase which must culminate only with the total fall of this government," said Kasrils, adding that details of such a phase had also not been discussed.

No disturbances are expected in schools and working places, during the first two phases, except where workers decide to embark on any form of action themselves at factory level, Kasrils explained.

During the better part of the first and the second phases, schools will be closed, so no disturbances are envisaged in the educational arena.

Kasrils said only those homelands such as Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and kwaZulu "where the leadership is resisting the basic demands of democracy" will be targeted for the protests.

Those like kaNgwane, Lebowa, Venda, Transkei and kwaNdebele would not be targeted. In fact, all of the latter are members of the Patriotic Front at Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa], and were briefed about the alliance's plans on the protests in a summit held last week in Lebowakgomo.

Gazankulu and Qwa-Qwa, who have openly aligned themselves with the NP [National Party] at Codesa, could also be targeted for protest action, he added.

ANC Activists Comment

MB2006140792 Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English 19-25 Jun 92 p 21

[Article by Phillip van Niekerk: "While the Generals Dither, Troops Return to Trenches"] [Text] Niel Barnard, the government's head spook now recast as a negotiator, sidled up to a senior African National Congress [ANC] member in the corridors of the World Trade Centre shortly before last month's deadlock at Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] II.

"Go and tell Madiba [Mandela nickname] he started the whole thing," said Barnard. "He must tell your people we are talking about power sharing."

The ANC official got the distinct impression that the government, through its spokesman Barnard, was expecting ANC president Nelson Mandela to deliver on some secret promise of power sharing.

Rumours of a "deal" between Mandela and President F.W. de Klerk's government, given grist by the tendency of the two men to retreat behind closed doors every time there is an impasse, have circulated for two and a half years.

Perhaps we will never know exactly what was said at the meetings between the ANC prisoner and National Party [NP] cabinet ministers in Mandela's last days in jail. But the two letters from Mandela to the government which were published at the time, pleading for reconciliation, do not support Barnard's inference that Mandela conceded power sharing as a compromise arrangement.

Careful rereading of the documents show that it is not Mandela who has violated any trust, but the NP which, by rejecting democracy as it is internationally accepted, has made the current mass action campaign inevitable.

"Two political issues will have to be addressed at such a meeting," Mandela wrote. "Firstly, the demand for majority rule in a unitary state: secondly, the concern of white South Africa over this demand, as well as the insistence of whites on structural guarantees that majority rule will not mean domination of the white minority by blacks.

"The most crucial task which will face the government and the ANC will be to reconcile these two positions."

While Mandela was clearly offering some form of quid pro quo, there is no evidence he accepted what the government is now demanding: the constitutionally entrenched right of the NP to representation in government.

What Mandela was pleading for was a gesture of public spiritedness to cut through the conflict and confrontation that was propelling in the country towards a bloodbath. It was a statesmanlike act that put his own political career at risk.

The idea was that rational people could get together, state their concerns and differences and build a structure, a gateway to democracy, that would address these concerns.

That was the theory. Rationalists, such as those most closely involved with the negotiations, believed that the ANC could win the day with the superior logic of its arguments.

However, the hope that reason and persuasion, and the mere act of showing up NP arguments as shoddy, would prevail, was dashed at Codesa II.

While there remain differences of emphasis within the ANC's national executive committee (NEC) few voices were raised at last week's NEC meeting against the mass action campaign. Even the strongest advocates of the rationalist approach were silent, or actively enthusiastic about the campaign.

This week's launch of the mass action campaign is a return to the source of the ANC's strength: the streets. It is an admission, ANC activists say, that in putting its faith in Codesa the movement cut itself off from its power base, while the government retained its hold on, and continued to abuse, state power.

"We need to be more vigilant than we've been, less accepting of the government's good faith," says Frene Ginwala, head of the ANC's department of research.

"We're now into deploying our power in a number of ways other than pure logic," says Raymond Suttner, head of the ANC's political education department.

Suttner says the movement tended to separate Codesa from the general struggle for power. But "in South Africa, the language that matters is the language of power," he says.

The NP made a huge blunder by not settling on the very generous terms it was offered at Codesa II. The NP might have felt that a slight delay could help it, but it appears to have squandered its chances of the gentlemen's agreement, or an accord between the elites, that Mandela was offering.

"Mass action is a threat to any deal at the top," says Suttner. "The ANC is reasserting its democratic character. What brought the government to the negotiating table was Cuito Cuanavale, the failure of the State of Emergency, the atmosphere of semi-insurrection and ungovernability."

ANC campaigns co-ordinator Ronnie Kasrils says mass action will continue no matter what deals are struck at the negotiating table. "In the negotiating process, we've tended to consider mass action a deadlock-breaking mechanism: we've used the metaphor of a tap that you turn on and off.

"There is an important interaction between negotiations and mass action, but we must be careful not to see it in an opportunistic way."

Kasrils says he had tested the temperature of the people and is confident of the success of the campaign: "What we're talking about is a spiral, of building up our forces from about a million in the build-up phase to the active involvement of 10-million in phase four. We're looking at the possibility of the Leipzig option.

"The decision is that we not utilise mass action until we reach the stage where De Klerk is propelled out of the exit gate."

Suttner believes in "permanent mass action" as a way of democratising the country for the future as well as now.

In fact, the mass action campaign could also be seen as a build-up to an unspoken but inevitable fifth phase: the election campaign itself.

Suttner talks about the huge task of bringing to the polls 13-million people who've never voted before. "The election campaign can become the biggest national mass campaign in the country's history," he says.

The mass action strategists are not rejecting the negotiations, but hoping to create a completely new balance of power at the table.

This brings another potential headache for the NP: instead of a slight delay, which might have been to its advantage, we could now be in for a long haul before there is a final settlement.

Ginwala says there can be no compromise on the fundamental issue of democracy. "The people are fighting and dying for democracy, and do not want to be short-changed."

She believes that even those areas of consensus which have already been reached between the ANC and the government could be overturned and predicts that by October or November, in the absence of any agreement, the ANC will abandon De Klerk's proposal of an interim legislature to rule the country while the constituent assembly draws up the constitution.

"Mass action may not do it instantly, but how long can this government continue to rule this country?" says Ginwala.

Which brings one back to Mandela's jail initiative. He proposed the need for negotiations between the ANC and the NP in the national interest to break the stalemate on the ground between the two forces.

In all probability, the country is heading dangerously back into that arena where angry armies on the ground dictate the terms of the contest.

With every public statement, the government appears to dig itself further into the trench of "power sharing," hoping to convince the people of South Africa that it is an adequate substitute for democracy.

De Klerk would do well to reread Mandela's document: "Majority rule and internal peace are like the two sides of a single coin, and white South Africa simply has to accept that there will never be peace and stability in this country until the principle is fully applied," he wrote, three long years ago.

Ministry Reports Angolan Request for Election Help MB1906153592 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1429 GMT 19 Jun 92

[Text] Pretoria June 19 SAPA—The Angolan Government had requested South African military air transport to help with preparations for the country's September elections, a senior South African foreign affairs spokesman confirmed on Friday [19 June].

The aircraft would be needed to ferry Angolan voter registration officials and United Nations monitoring teams to inaccessible areas in the country.

An Angolan source told SAPA in Luanda on Thursday the Angolan Government needed a number of aircraft for the task, and helicopters and some fixed wing transport were urgently required.

The Angolans also made it clear the air transport facilities, if made available, would not be used for any electioneering but "purely for the administration of the election".

"At the moment we are considering the Angolan request and hope to reach a decision soon," the foreign affairs spokesman said on Friday.

AEC Restructures, Seeks Fiscal Self-Sufficiency MB2106135092 Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English Rusiness Times Supplement 21 Jun 92

in English Business Times Supplement 21 Jun 92 pp 1, 3

[Article by Don Robertson: "AEC [Atomic Energy Corporation] Looking to a Rich Atomic Future"]

[Text] The Atomic Energy Corporation (AEC) has restructured to embrace business principles in all divisions except its nuclear division.

Its newly-established business development unit, operating for only one year, hopes to be financially self-sufficient within two years and become profitable within four years.

State funding for this unit decreased during the past financial year by 31 percent, from R[rand]22.1-million to R16.9-million. Sales are projected to increase by 52 percent in the current year.

But the nuclear division, with annual state financing of about R450-million and total sales of R150-million, remains heavily dependent on state aid.

For the first time, details of AEC's financial operations have been released. In the past financial year to March, sales of industrial products to the local and export market surged to R35.8- million and are expected to rise by a further 52 percent in the current financial period to about R55-million.

During the same period, expenses have been reduced.

The financial position is expected to improve further in the following year, with income forecast at R72.3-million, while development expenses should be totally eliminated. This should refer the antially reduce the state's contribution to the busin manuals.

The success has been spurred by the establishment of the business unit under the leadership of executive GM [general manager] Anthony Jackson, who foresaw a possible drying up of state funding in years ahead.

"By 1988 the commissioning of the nuclear fuel process had been completed and enrichment and fabrication had started. At that stage, the considerable brain power employed by the AEC was underutilised and we anticipated reduced funding from the government.

"As a result, we embarked on a programme of commercialisation to evaluate how the technologies developed to enrich uranium could be used for industry," says Dr. Jackson.

Dr. Jackson hopes that sales of industrial products will be assisted by a major export drive into Australia, Pacific Rim countries, South America and the Far East. The AEC is consolidating this export drive and is evaluating the types of products which would meet niche markets overseas.

It is also eager to share its technology with groups such as the CSIR [expansion unknown] and Mintek, as well as international groups.

In a parastatal environment, this took longer than expected and it was only in the past financial year that the unit became effective.

As a result, the AEC was drastically restructured with the establishment of 12 separate divisions, each one responsible for its own technology and, in some cases, the manufacture of industrial products.

The goal of the business unit is based on the maximisation of net present value of each division in the longerterm, says Dr. Jackson.

"Deficits incurred from April 1 1991 will be accumulated by each individual business unit to be 'repaid' over the period of the net present value determination.

"However, given the uncertainty of continued government funding, all businesses have been made aware of an additional survival constraint—that of achieving breakeven or a reduction of direct costs as soon as possible."

A major contributor to the future viability of the corporation is the development of a world-first uranium enrichment process.

A pilot plant for molecular laser isotope separation (MLIS) for the enrichment of uranium has been in operation for some time and the AEC is now establishing a demonstration unit.

Sales of enriched uranium from this process are not expected until towards the end of the century, but would be substantially cheaper than any other method of production.

Dr. Jackson believes this could be a substantial moneyspinner for AEC, but warns that government funding could end before the manufacturing process has been established. In this case, it might be necessary to approach the private sector for finance.

The largest of the new division is the fluorochemicals division, which is expected to earn R19-million in the current year. The manufacture of hydrogen fluoride was necessary for the eventual enrichment of uranium and has enabled this section to produce other industrial products based on hydrogen fluoride.

The AEC has one of only four hot cell complexes in the world able to mechanically and chemically test spent nuclear fuel rods as well as carry out other sampling services. Utilisation of this service by international nuclear countries is expected to increase.

Concern Over Cooperation With Russia Noted

MB2106155392 Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English Business Times Supplement 21 Jun 92 p 18

[Report by "own correspondent" in London: "Now SA [South Africa] and Russia Are Friends, the Fear Is That They Could 'Do an OPEC' by Using Their Muscle in Metals"]

[Text] The logic of South Africa's expertise being harnessed to partner the exploitation of natural resources in recently hostile neighbouring states like Angola makes commonsense in London.

The increasing involvement of De Beer's in Angola's diamond industry and Iscor's [South African Iron and Steel Corporation's] growing relationship with Ferrangol, the Angolan iron ore holding group, are welcomed as completely logical examples of inevitable mutual development that cannot come fast enough.

But the steady relationship between South Africa and the Russians, accelerated by President De Klerk's meetings with the Commonwealth of Independent States' leadership in Moscow last week, has astonished even the most sophisticated levels of the metals market.

Already in City of London wine bars there is scary talk of South Africa and CIS—until so very recently deadly enemies—so tightly tucked up in bed together that they are plotting to use their huge metals muscle as Opec has done with oil.

Even top mining analysts James Capel commented this week—without drawing obvious conclusions—that South Africa and the Russians wielded "considerable influence" on the metal market even before the epic global political and economic realignments that have flung them together.

So what, now that they are reciprocating with evergrowing warmth? How far beyond technical cooperation, which will be on display when the SA Chamber of Mines exhibits at a technological fair in Moscow next month, will the two go?

The rich facts from which deductions must be made, suggest experts like Capel's, are impressive.

South Africa and the CIS produce 40 percent of gold, 90 percent of platinum and its family metals rhodium and palladium, some 75 percent of chrome and 50 percent of manganese.

The Russian Republic, the most mineral rich of the former USSR states, remains coy on market speculation that they could take the initiative in seeking a relationship with South Africa that goes beyond playing technological co-operation.

The Russian Federated Chamber of Industries, which has now assumed responsibility for the co-operative agreement the SA Chamber of Mines signed 11 months ago with the old USSR, has resolutely ignored comment.

Dealers say the CIS silence is not unexpected. Collaboration between them and South Africa—which would have a huge impact on, for example, the confined platinum, palladium and rhodium markets—would be in breach of European and American anti-trust laws.

There has been no publicised comment here by Naas Steenkamp, the outgoing president of the South African Chamber of Mines, or his much-respected successor, Bobby Godsell.

However, Johann Liebenberg, the Chamber's senior general manager of external relations, this week heatedly denied that there was any suggestion of market collusion in his territory (essentially gold and coal).

Liebenberg added that it was "far too early" to speculate on co-operation that in future could extend beyond purely technological matters.

London experts say that, to be realistic, fears of South Africa and the Russians collaborating to over-duly influence the gold market by boosting its price are not realistic, if only because of booming production in North America, Australia and other countries.

But brokers in London say it is known within the industry that although South Africa and the Russians are both members of the World Gold Council, the marketing organisation that vigorously discourages price fiddling cartels, both do indeed exchange considerable intelligence about bullion market developments.

A point raised this week by Union Bank of Switzerland was that gold had so far shouldered an unfair burden through Russia's attempts to service its debts —and measured gold production and "central" reserves were still falling.

And with power still spreading away from Moscow to the unsettled regions, hopes for a single convertible rouble—which would have been "best news of all for gold"—may be some way off yet.

State Expenditure Minister Venter Interviewed

MB2206091592 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0713 GMT 22 Jun 92

[SAPA Wire Service issued by the South African Communication Service: Interview with State Expenditure Minister Amie Venter, for the July 1992 Issue of RSA Policy Review by Alta van Wyk: "A Firm Grip on State Expenditure"]

[Text] The state president, Mr F. W. de Klerk, said in his opening address to Parliament in January this year, that unprecedented discipline would be maintained on state expenditure during the coming financial year to decrease it as a percentage of the gross domestic product (GDP). Following on this undertaking, the minister of state expenditure, Mr Amie Venter, announced several measures aimed at tightening control over state expenditure during his budget vote in Parliament at the end of may this year. In this interview which Alta van Wyk conducted with Mr Venter in May, he elaborates on these measures and on the activities of the new Department of State Expenditure.

[Van Wyk] In view of criticism levelled at the establishment of the Department of State Expenditure, could you briefly explain what the task of the department is and how it relates to the department of finance?

[Venter] The Department of State Expenditure was established on 1 April last year. Although the department has really only been in a controlling phase since I April this year, it already took care of the 1991/92 additional budget and the 1992/93 part appropriation budget. Its most important objectives are the effective allocation. and the promotion of the efficient management and appropriation of state money. Its function can be likened to that of the independent treasury that existed before 1980. South Africa has a very high tax rate which puts tremendous pressure on John Citizen. Therefore, the department's instruction is, inter alia, to allow taxes to be decreased by cutting state expenditure. Firstly, the department's task is to ensure that the expenditure side of the budget of all government departments, authorities and administrations is properly planned and that allocated funds are utilised at best. Secondly, it controls state expenditure. Thirdly, its function is complementary to that of the Department of Finance: where the Department of State Expenditure is responsible for the expenditure component of the budget, the administration of the treasury, the State Tender Board, the secret services account and the Central Computer Service, the Department of Finance deals with the revenue component of the budget and determines macrofinancial policy. These two departments collaborate closely and jointly control the budget as a whole. Together with the Departments of

Trade and Industry, and of Public Enterprises and Economic Coordination, the Departments of State Expenditure and Finance are also concerned with the committee for financial policy and strategy, a committee whose advice on state finances carries much weight.

[Van Wyk] The government is still under fire after reports of misapplication in the former Department of Development Aid had come to light. Several unanswered questions remain surrounding expenditure on secret projects. Why is control over administrative management and bookkeeping systems in the state so inadequate that such actions can occur?

[Venter] The occurrence of misapplication in government departments does not necessarily imply faulty systems. In any organisation, also in the state, one relies on the integrity of employees. Prospective employees are selected before being appointed and are then evaluated continuously. A specific work ethic is created in the state by means of management training programmes. Most civil servants are people of integrity. It is the minority who transgress and through their offences give the state a bad reputation. Unfortunately, because of conspiratorial practices inside and also outside the government, it is difficult to track down this kind of irregularity. This is tragic. With regard to expenditure on secret projects, it must be borne in mind that the money spent on certain projects in accordance with government policy at any given time, is not spent tortuously or squandered. These projects are no longer relevant, because of the policy change. It is therefore a question of modified expenditure priorities due to political and policy changes. These matters must be seen in perspective. Naturally, corruption and misapplication cannot be condoned. That is precisely why the Department of State Expenditure came into being. With the co-operation of the auditor-general, commissions of inquiry and other government departments, maladministration must be exposed and eradicated. The government is committed to clean administration. The taxpayer's money does not belong to the government. It is trust money the expenditure of which is determined by Parliament.

[Van Wyk] What instruments does the state have at its disposal to control the expenditure and misapplication of state funds?

[Venter] Of the most important instruments, are the departmental management plans which each department has to submit to the Department of State Expenditure as from the 1992/93 financial year. In these plans, departments must give an indication of their expenditure within their budgets. Additional measures to tighten control over state money are also contemplated. For example, amendments to the auditor-general act are considered at present, in order to expand the authority of the auditor-general. At the same time, the Part Appropriation Act Abolition Bill, the Reporting by Public Entities Bill and the Finance Acts Consolidation Bill have already been accepted by Parliament this year.

[Van Wyk] What do the departmental management programmes entail?

[Venter] As from 1 April this year, all departments. authorities and administrations are obliged to submit an annual management plan for analysis and approval to the Department of State Expenditure. In these plans, the departments' expenditure priorities for the specific financial year are set out and the most important objectives stated. Each department must be able to accomplish these goals with the money made available to it. These plans are continually evaluated. Important aspects to which attention should be paid, are the possible rationalisation of functions and manpower needs, and constant actions to increase productivity. I wish to point out that the Department of State Expenditure respects the management autonomy of all departments at all times. With the first submission of these management plans this year, a total amount of R[Rand]111,000 million was requested. After an analysis of the submissions, the Department of State Expenditure cut this amount by nearly R18,000 million. In addition to the management plans, departments were also requested to hand in management summaries - numerical summaries in a fixed format as prescribed by the Department of State Expenditure. These are at present being studied by the Department of State Expenditure and details about them will be submitted to the cabinet in due course. I want to emphasise that the quality of the service rendered by a department is not only measured by the available funds, but also by effective administration and dedication.

[Van Wyk] Together with the management plans, a multiyear expenditure planning system is also being developed at present. Could you explain what this system entails?

[Venter] This system entails that decisions on expenditure budgets of a specific year will time and again be made simultaneously with the expenditure planning for the following three financial years. Function committees, appointed by the Department of State Expenditure, will analyse each main service, such as education, welfare and housing, in greater detail. Thereafter, different options at several cost levels will be identified. It is therefore not only policy aspects but also the inner functioning of each service that will be considered. These functions comprise standard items, such as personnel expenditure, and stock and equipment which form part of the input costs of the service.

[Van Wyk] Could you give more details on the proposed amendments to the auditor-general act?

[Venter] Since South Africa became a union, the office of the auditor-general has been functioning as part of the executive authority. Because the government's highest priority is efficient, honest and cost-effective administration, it has been decided to bestow greater visible autonomy on the office of the auditor-general. It means that the decisive role the executive authority has played

in the office of the auditor-general thus far, will be terminated. This office will become an independent instrument of parliament or the legislative authority. The decision is based on generally accepted principles as applied in leading Western countries and also on the recommendation made by the joint committee on public accounts in 1990. It should bring about more effective auditing and hasten reporting to Parliament. At the same time, these measures should benefit the joint committee on public accounts. Provision is made for annual auditing reports by the auditor-general. The reports will be submitted to the speaker of parliament during the parliamentary recess, instead of to the ministers concerned. It will therefore not be necessary to wait until Parliament is in session before referring these reports to the joint committee on public accounts. The committee will meet during the recess, consider the reports and report and make recommendations to Parliament. The ideal is to expedite the auditing of all government and related institutions within the authority of the auditorgeneral and his office.

[Van Wyk] What does the Part Appropriation Act Abolition Bill entail?

[Venter] As stated earlier, this bill is aimed at streamlining the activities of the Department of State Expenditure. In terms of the bill the part appropriation budget must be substituted with a standing statutory voting. At present, the Part Appropriation Act provides for parliamentary authorisation of a single amount, as determined by the treasury, for state expenses during the first four months of a new financial year, namely from 1 April, until the budget act takes effect—usually in June/July. Money voted by Parliament in terms of this act, may only be used for existing services for which money had been appropriated during the immediate preceding financial year. In accordance with the practice in many other countries, the solution to this is that Parliament grants a standing authorisation subject to certain limiting conditions. This means that these interim expenses may be incurred in terms of the previous year's approved Budget Act. The bill makes provision for funds being made available during the interim period by the treasury for up to a maximum of 45 per cent of the previous year's appropriation for the first three months and 10 per cent per month thereafter. The advantages of this arrangement are that stricter control can be exercised because voted funds are involved, that new services could be started with the money and that the repeal of the part appropriation debate will save invaluable time without parliamentary control over state expenditure being affected in any way.

[Van Wyk] Can you in short also explain what the reporting by public entities bill entails?

[Venter] In South Africa, as in many other countries in the twentieth century, extensive use has been made of public corporations, enterprises and institutions to achieve public objectives. Many of these institutions were dependent on the state for their capital needs, or a significant part of their operational costs was financed by the treasury. Since the founding methods of such institutions vary considerably, no uniform framework exists to create effective reporting structures and arrangements to Parliament for them. This bill will mainly enable any public institution with its own financial administrative management system, and in which the state has a fundamental financial interest, to report to Parliament on its activities. One of the chief aims is to arrange reporting within an acceptable and uniform framework. The provisions of the bill create the broad framework and will be supplemented in greater detail by regulations. I wish to emphasise that this legislation will not affect the essential autonomy of public institutions with regard to internal controlling processes, in any way.

[Van Wyk] And the Finance Acts Consolidation Bill?

[Venter] Annually, at least one financial act is carried through Parliament in terms of which ad hoc financial matters are included in statutes. Since the previous Consolidation Act of 1977, 16 finance acts were promulgated up to and including 1990. Since the provisions in such legislation mainly approve non-recurrent statutory authorisation or actions, which can be repealed without being prejudicial to the law, all obsolete provisions of the above-mentioned 16 finance laws were repealed in the finance act of 1991. Provisions not repealed last year, were at that stage spreaded over several finance acts. The Finance Acts Consolidation Bill of 1992 is a merger of those remaining provisions and no new provisions or policies are involved.

[Van Wyk] At present, social development expenditure amounts to between 10 and 20 per cent of the budget and there is concern that too much state money is poured into such upliftment programmes to the detriment of job creation and economic growth. Your comment?

[Venter] It is not clear how the percentage of between 10 and 20 per cent referred to, is calculated. There can be no doubt that huge backlogs in the socio-economic field in South Africa exist, which must consequently be tackled. In view of this, an amount of R1.269,000 million from the selling of assets was made available mainly for education-related capital expenses in the recent past. Furthermore, an amount of R1,500 million from the selling of strategic oil reserves was made available for, among other things, infrastructure, roads, health, housing and education. The financing of this expenditure takes place by disassimilating stocks. Consequently, it only entails an alternative form of already financed assets. Sanctions and threats of sanctions forced South Africa to invest part of its savings in strategic stocks, including oil reserves. It represents a very unproductive form of investment and did indeed contribute to the unfavourable course taken by economic growth and job creation.

[Van Wyk] One of the criticisms levelled at the state's social development programmes is the lack of a central treasury to take responsibility for the management of

cash and short-term money to and from the development agents. Is any attention being paid to this matter by the authorities?

[Venter] The lack of a central treasury is a result of the present constitutional dispensation. A change in this dispensation can only be brought about by constitutional reform, for example, by phasing out the own affairs administrations. The Department of State Expenditure controls all funds in the state revenue account. However, after funds have been paid over to other authorities, the department cannot exercise any further control over the money. Then it becomes the responsibility of the treasury of those authorities.

[Van Wyk] The cabinet has decided that a task group consisting of the Department of State Expenditure, the central economic advisory service, the Department of Finance and the Reserve Bank should advise it over a period of five years on global expenditure restrictions within a macro-economic framework. What progress has this task group made so far?

[Venter] This task group, chaired by the central economic advisory service, as well as a representative working group, have already met on several occasions to determine expenditure and revenue limitations, and financial deficits before loans for the coming five financial years. The task group will soon approach the cabinet with recommendations on global expenditure restrictions.

[Van Wyk] Do you regard planning periods of five years attainable in the present time frame of numerous needs and an unfavourable economic climate?

[Venter] I think it is attainable provided it is regarded realistically. Under normal circumstances, reasonable projections of long-term needs which have to be budgeted for, are indeed possible. The first advantage of this is that continuity with regard to a department's ability in the long term is accomplished. It means that projects that have been embarked upon, can be continued meaningfully on an on-going basis. It is more expensive to have to start with a project from scratch every time due to lack of planning. Secondly, the expenditure levels of departments are determined beforehand. This improves control over state expenditure, while the private sector and the taxpayer will continuously be informed about the state's expenditure. Exceptions and abnormal circumstances naturally occur, such as the present drought which makes additional demands on the treasury. In general, such projections should, however, control and direct the expenditure budget.

[Van Wyk] The treasury is under increasing pressure to render more effective services and to catch up on backlogs. Are you optimistic that the government will be able to fulfil all the needs, while at the same time containing state expenditure within acceptable limits?

[Venter] Naturally, it depends on the demands on the treasury. The government is committed to improving the

living conditions of all South Africans, while at the same time it regards the controlling of the expenditure budget as a high priority as far as possible. For example, it is committed to eradicating discrimination with regard to social pensions and salaries in different fields. However, the state's capability to afford this, depends greatly on the country's economic ability. If South Africa does not grow economically, objectives will definitely have to be scaled down to control state expenditure. In the present dispensation with the prospects of economic growth and investments in South Africa, the possibility for progress on the road to better living conditions is strong, in my view. I honestly think the development of anewed [as received] dedication and a work ethic in South Africa must be contemplated strongly. We cannot take more from the economy than we put in. If everyone gives his best in his job, improves his ability and does everything possible to increase productivity, everybody can lay claim to a better situation with a clean conscience.

21 Jun Press Review on Current Events, Issues MB2106191692

[Editorial Report]

SATURDAY STAR

'Time To Get Serious' in Boipatong—Johannesburg SATURDAY STAR in English on 20 June in a page 12 editorial comments on the 17 June Boipatong massacre with the following: "By surrounding KwaMadala hostel," "sending in droves of detectives to sniff out evidence," and "calling for an immediate inquiry into the massacre on Wednesday night, the police have given every appearance of acting quickly and energetically to bring the perpetrators to book." "But for the masses of people in that scarred township, that is all it will be: an appearance." "The police have often in the past dealt with claims of their involvement in violence, or that they did not do enough to save lives and property, too easily and cavalierly." And now after Boipatong 'that same familiar pattern' is emerging again. "Who can be expected to trust 'in-house' police investigations after the Trust Feed debacle?"

SUNDAY TIMES

Can South Africa Heal Itself?—That is the question the Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English on 21 June in a page 18 editorial asks. "The horrific slaughter at Boipatong raises, not for the first time, the question whether South Africa is capable of healing itself or whether, like Yugoslavia, it will discover that the end of totalitarian rule unleashes centrifugal forces which put the future at the mercy of the local equivalent of Serb irregulars." "Political cleavage lines coincide, in the minds of many ordinary black people, with ethnic cleavages. Anger, fear, and hatred—on both sides—cast a deepening shadow over the very prospect of incorporating Natal peacefully into a unitary state." "Nor has this polarisation of black people left others untouched. On the principle that 'my enemy's enemy is my friend',

some whites have sought to deploy the weapons and resources of the South African state in support of Inkatha, and other whites have sought to deploy the weapons and resources of the Soviet Union in support of the ANC," writes the SUNDAY TIMES.

THE WEEKLY MAIL

'The Party of Law and Disorder'—"The government's response to the African National Congress' mass action campaign is cynical in the extreme", writes Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English in its 19-25 June edition in a page 20 editorial. "The government has systematically orchestrated a mood of near-hysteria around the campaign, using disruptive military call-ups and a compliant media that seems willing to accept uncritically the most outrageous government assertions." "Here we have a government that has been shown to be riddled with corruption, has been found by international bodies and even its own courts to have been responsible for much of the violence in the country yet it attacks the ANC [African National Congress] on the grounds that the organisation is solely responsible for violence and neither ready to nor capable of ruling the country." THE WEEKLY MAIL continues by discussing recent examples of the government's intolerance and political muscle flexing. "Its leaders may think that, having got rid of the most noxious of their party's apartheid baggage and having garnered international credibility, they can keep a hold on power without too much fuss and wait for a more opportune time to fight a non-racial election."

CAPE TIMES

'Retrograde Legislation'-The Cape Town CAPE TIMES in English on 17 June in a gage 8 editorial draws attention to current legislation in Parliament. "The retrograde legislation which the NP [National Party] government is rushing through Parliament in the closing days of the session is reminiscent of some of the worst laws brought into force in the repressive days of Verwoerd and Vorster." "Two of these measures in particular-the bill to legalise phone- tapping without a court order and the Criminal Law Second Amendment Billwill cause puzzlement in circles that have welcomed President F.W. de Klerk as a courageous reformer and democrat." "The world assumes that the security establishment no longer rules the roost in this country at the expense of civil liberties. It would be appalling if a reassessment were now due.'

Press Review for 22 Jun

MB2206105992

[Editorial Report]

THE CITIZEN

Mass Action Creating Climate for Township Killings—Commenting on the killing of at least 39 people in Boipatong township on 17 June, Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 19 June its page 6 editorial

states: "The ANC [African National Congress], which has placed the blame at the door of the IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] and the police, must also accept its responsibility for helping to create a climate in which there is such hatred as was shown in Boipatong." "Mass action is a provocation. It stirs ill feelings. It brings the risk of upheaval. It destroys the respect people have for law and order. It is no good mouthing platitudes like mass action is the kind of democratic protest that the people of Eastern Europe used to achieve their freedom. We are not Eastern Europe. We have savages in our midst who think nothing of killing men, women and children in the most awful fashion." THE CITIZEN urges the ANC to call off the mass action and "give the ending of violence top priority."

THE STAR

'Disturbing' Reports on 'Pressuring' of Nurses To Strike-"It may seem an old-fashioned sentiment, but doctors and nurses should not risk the lives of their patients by going on strike," warns a page 10 editorial in Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 22 June. Therefore, the call by trade unionist Neal Thobejane for "sympathetic doctors' to join the strike by hospital cleaners and other workers must be resisted." "It is regrettable that some nurses have already joined the strike. More disturbing are reports that strikers, in their drive for solidarity, are pressuring nurses into joining them. Nearly 160 strikers have been arrested for defying a Supreme Court interdict prohibiting them from entering hospital premises. The dilemma of nurses is encapsulated in the anguished remark of one who has so far resisted solidarity calls: 'The patients will die if we leave them, but if the strikers come we will have to go. They live in our streets. They will kill us and our children'.

BUSINESS DAY

Need To Dismantle Inkatha 'Vigilante' Hostels-The wisdom of the ANC alliance mass action campaign is "highly questionable," but it "is clear that few, if any, of the past week's deaths were a direct result of ANC activities," declares a page 6 editorial in Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 22 June. It seems that the Boipatong killers "were based at Iscor's [South African Iron and Steel Corporation] KwaMadala hostelwell-known as an Inkatha stronghold. There are also some untested claims of police collusion in the massacre." "In the Boipatong case, Iscor needs to explain why it failed to heed several warnings from Numsa [National Union of Metalworkers of South Africal that the Kwa-Madala hostel, a 'Fortress of Fear,' had become little more than the headquarters of a group of vigilantes. Boipatong is not the first piece of evidence to suggest that Numsa was correct. As for Inkatha's leaders, it is time for them to explain why their political strongholds, in particular the chain of Reef hostels, have become factories of death. Pious verbal commitments to peace are no longer enough. It is time to begin serious discussions on how the entire institution can be dismantled."

SOWETAN

No 'Comfort' From De Klerk for Boipatong Residents—Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 22 June in its page 12 editorial says that on 20 June, when the state president visited Boipatong, the police "had still not arrested anyone." President de Klerk should have known "he would not be welcome in the township. The only 'comfort' he could bring to the people is information that the murders of their loved ones have been found and are being brought to justice. He should have gone to visit the commanders of his police force to demand action. He should have gone to find out why the few people who have been arrested in this present orgy of violence make

token appearances in court and are then released because there is insufficient evidence. In the absence of satisfactory explanations he should have fired a few people, possibly including Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel, who added insult to injury by getting into Boipatong with De Klerk. De Klerk showed less than good leadership by blaming the ANC and the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] for orchestrating demonstrations against him in Boipatong on Saturday [20 June]. He did this while his policemen, badly trained in crowd control, were shooting at the angry crowd, adding three more to the list of victims. No, Mr De Klerk, the world expects much more from you."

Angola

Dos Santos Views Cabinda During Gabon Stopover

AB2006085292 Libreville Africa No 1 in French 1830 GMT 18 Jun 92

[Text] Cooperation between Gabon and Angola was discussed this morning in Libreville during a brief visit by Angolan President Eduardo dos Santos. Following talks with his Gabonese counterpart, Omar Bongo, President Los Santos answered reporters' questions. Two issues were raised: democratization in Angola and the Cabinda matter. President Dos Santos acknowledged that the conflict between his government the nationalist movement in that enclave is a delicate matter but, as he later pointed out, this must not call into question the integrity of the Angolan territory:

[Begin Dos Santos recording] Upon independence in 1975, Angola inherited borders set by the colonial power. Angola respects the OAU Charter on African borders. We are following these principles in the search for a solution to the Cabinda issue. We have been making contacts with several factions of the Front for the Liberation of the Cabinda Enclave [FLEC] and I sincerely hope that a political solution is found to this problem, which we see as a domestic issue. [end recording]

The Angolan president, who arrived this morning, left Libreville in the afternoon, after meeting with President Omar Bongo, who stated that his country is taking part in efforts aimed at solving the Cabinda conflict:

[Begin Bongo recording] As far as we are concerned, Cabinda is an extension of Angola. What needs to be done now is to seek a solution to end the war that has lasted for more than 15 years. It would be unfortunate if FLEC continues to fight. But, I cannot say, right now, that the solution has been found. Negotiations must be held between the Angolan Government and FLEC. Gabon offers its good offices to the Angolan Government so that a lasting solution is found to this crisis that could divide Angola. We played the same role in [words indistinct] and it is within this framework that we have been searching for lasting peace in Angola. [end recording]

Bostwana

Ruling Party Suspends Leaders Over Land Deals

MB1906205292 London BBC World Service in English 1705 GMT 19 Jun 92

[Text] The Kgabo Commission of Inquiry in Botswana into dodgy land deals involving people in high places netted some big fish. It led to the resignation of Vice President Peter Mmusi and Agriculture Minister Daniel Kwelagobi earlier this year. But now they have fallen even further from grace as Derrick James reports from Gaberone:

[James] The ruling Botswana Democratic Party has suspended its chairman, Mr. Peter Mmusi, and its secretary general, Mr. Daniel Kwelagobi, from both their official positions and also from membership of the Central Committee. Radio Botswana announced this morning that they were no longer entitled to be office bearers and that the move was made, I quote, in the best interests of the party and to ensure the discipline of its members. Both men were named as allegedly involved in dubious land deals in the Kgabo Commission of Inquiry on land allocations in villages close to Gaborone. Both men are, however, suing the government and the Commission of Inquiry, criticizing the manner in which the commission conducted its inquiries.

Mr. Mmusi would not comment to me today, except to say that as a court order is pending, the matter is sub judice. Mr. Peter Mmusi and Mr. Daniel Kwelagobi both represent constituencies in the south of Botswana, and there have been rumors that there is a division in the ruling Botswana Democratic Party between those from the north and those from the south. Whether this is true or not remains to be seen but certainly there will be an increase in the rumors of a potential split in the ruling Botswana Democratic Party.

Malawi

Tembo Comments on Detainees' Situation

MB1906185092 London BBC World Service in English 1705 GMT 19 Jun 92

[Text] Although a number of political detainees and prisoners in Malawi have been released recently under pressure from churches, local people and the international community, others are still behind bars; among them trade union leader Chakufwa Chihana and the son-in-law of Aleke Banda who was arrested a couple of weeks ago after talking to the BBC about his father-in-law's continued imprisonment. In Malawi, Robin Denzelow of BBC Television talked to John Tembo, minister of state in the President's Office, and asked him first why Chakufwa Chihana was still being detained:

[Begin recording] [Tembo] Mr. Chihana is not a detained person. He is going to be brought to court. He will be charged.

[Denzelow] And when will that be?

[Tembo] Well, it is not my area. I think you have to ask the appropriate authorities.

[Denzelow] And who are they?

[Tembo] Attorney General's Office.

[Denzelow] But he hasn't been brought to court. Surely, while he is in detention, he is very much a government responsibility?

[Tembo] No. I think that the lawyer to Mr. Chihana knows that Chihana is going to be brought to court and I believe that this is going to happen even next month.

[Denzelow] What has Mr. Chihana done wrong to merit being held without charge for two months?

[Tembo] I think that again...[pauses] I understand that when somebody has been arrested, he is going to be brought to court. It is not up to people like me to discuss the merits and demerits of his case.

[Denzelow] But you are a leading party official and the party official is very much in charge of the country. If not you, then who, sir?

[Tembo] The issue of sub judice excludes some officials.

[Denzelow] If there has been no charge, surely a different situation applies?

[Tembo] No. I think that we do respect the fact that there is a case coming. Let us wait until that case comes through.

[Denzelow] And you guarantee there will be a case, because there are stories, of course, of many people who have been arrested and held, without ever being charged.

[Tembo] No, he is going to be brought to court, definitely. You ask his lawyer. He will tell you that.

[Denzelow] But there have been many other such cases, I mean take Krishna Achutan arrested a couple of weeks back just for making a telephone call and being interviewed by the BBC.

[Tembo] Is that what you have been told?

[Denzelow] Indeed, yes. He was interviewed by the BBC. He was picked up and arrested the next day.

[Tembo] I haven't been told that. I am afraid, I am not involved in that.

[Denzelow] Why would he have been arrested then?

[Tembo] I don't know. It is not for me to say. It is not for me to say.

[Denzelow] Who [words indistinct]...

[Tembo, interrupting] But I think he himself knows why he was arrested.

[Denzelow] He was asking for the release of his fatherin-law, Aleke Banda, who, of course, has been over what, 14 years.

[Tembo] Do you think anyone asking for the release of his father-in-law is arrested in this country?

[Denzelow] It looks very much, sir, quite so, unless another explanation can be given.

[Tembo] No. I think you are grossly wrong. There must be something else. He knows himself. He knows himself. [Denzelow] It is an extraordinary coincidence though that a man should give an interview to BBC and then be picked up the next day.

[Tembo] I don't know about the coincidence. You can explain it better. Do you think a person who wants his father-in-law released in Malawi, he has to ring or get an interview with BBC in order to get him released?

[Denzelow] Well, after 14 years...

[Tembo, interrupting] Am I going to be arrested because of this interview?

[Denzelow] We have met many people, sir, who say they are frightened to talk to the BBC and who talk about the climate of fear. Do you accept that?

[Tembo] I am not. I am talking to you.

[Denzelow] We met many people who wouldn't talk to us.

[Tembo] Well, ask them. Ask them. We hear a lot of them talk on the BBC every day. The lawyer of Chihana talks to BBC and he is going around.

[Denzelow] But many other people we have talked to in the streets and as we have been going around the country, they are far too frightened to talk, it is far too dangerous. Anyone who talks might get arrested.

[Tembo] I think it is one of those areas which really are isolated. [end recording]

Mozambique

Government, Renamo Envoys Sign Protocol in Rome MB1906193692 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network

[Excerpts] The delegations from the Mozambican Government and the Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] to the peace talks in Rome have just signed a protocol of understanding which resolves the differences that divided them regarding the method to be followed

in discussing the pending issues on the agenda before the

signing of a cease-fire. [passage omitted]

in Portuguese 1900 GMT 19 Jun 92

The signing of the protocol is the result of a last-minute understanding reached after a face-to-face informal meeting held between the heads of delegations from the Mozambican Government and Renamo yesterday. The protocol was signed by Armando Guebuza, head of the Mozambican delegation, and Raul Domingos, head of the Renamo delegation. The ceremony was attended by diplomatic representatives from the four observer countries, namely the United States, Portugal, France and the United Kingdom. The working scheme advanced by the trilateral mediation [as heard] completely reviewed the order of issues in the original working agenda approved by the parties in May last year.

Renamo Requests Adjournment

MB2206082092 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 0800 GMT 22 Jun 92

[Text] Journalist Tomas Vieira Mario reports from Rome that the Mozambique peace talks have been adjourned for 24 hours at the request of the Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo]. He said that Renamo is reported to have telephoned the mediators last night, asking them to postpone today's meeting on the role of the Joint Verification Commission [Comive], regarding the partial cease-fire accord signed in Rome in 1990. Renamo has given no explanations for its request.

Today's meeting, which had also been requested by Renamo, was scheduled to evaluate the systems used in the investigation of irregularities on the implementation of the 1990 Rome accord, as well as how Comive has been investigating those involved in alleged violations of that accord.

Chissano Marks Frelimo, Independence Anniversaries MB2006194692 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1730 GMT 20 Jun 92

[Text] In Maputo today President of the Republic Joaquim Chissano once again called for national unity and solidarity to enable the Mozambican people to resolve the many problems they are facing. He spoke in particular about the need to restore peace. The Mozambican head of state said this during a three-hour meeting with a group from the Church of 12 Apostles at Ponta Vermelha Palace. The group went to the palace to greet President Chissano and reciprocate his visit when the church published its statutes on 29 March this year. Speaking on the occasion, which coincides with the celebrations marking the 30th anniversary of the founding of the Mozambique Liberation Front [Frelimo] and the 17th anniversary of national independence, the Mozambican statesman said the building of the nation would only be possible with the establishment of peace in the country.

Referring to the ongoing democratization process in the country, President Chissano said in order to achieve true democracy, the Mozambican people must work hard because without development there is no democracy. President Joaquim Chissano said: This process is only possible with understanding and unity, and not with hatred, envy, and treason, as is the case today with many Mozambicans here in the country.

[Begin Chissano recording] Just because they are hungry for power and wealth, because of selfishness, they wage war and serve the interests of the Mozambican people's enemies. That is how the war started here in the country. This war was begun by people who served the interests of the enemies of our people, who were against this independence that we are celebrating today. They were against Frelimo, which wanted to unite our people. They

were against this Frelimo that preached the unity of the people. That is why a number of measures had to be adopted.

We know that even churches were used against our people's interests. Many churches were used. Today we feel that the churches are free. In every church, members are free to make their own choice. The church is not a political party, but a church has its members, and every member is free to make his own choice. Even in the Church of 12 Apostles, members are not forced to sing praises to Chissano. They are not forced to sing praises to Frelimo. It is not our intention to use the church. We shall, however, always welcome all those who come closer to us as the government and Frelimo, regardless of religion. [end recording]

Further Remarks

MB2106194092 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1730 GMT 21 Jun 92

[Text] The Mozambique Liberation Front [Frelimo] cannot be accused of having caused the war after independence. Today's war was caused by colonialism, using some Mozambicans. This is what Joaquim Chissano, chairman of Frelimo and the president of the Republic, said today at a mass rally at 25 Junho Ward in Maputo.

Addressing the residents of the ward and believers belonging to different church denominations in the area, Chissano said the Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] was created simply to fight the Mozambican people and that is why it says in Rome: No, we do not want to begin by discussing the cease-fire.

[Begin Chissano recording] The United States proposed to both of us, the government and Renamo, to sign an immediate cease-fire in order to allow the distribution of food and medicines. It said we can continue to talk, but we should sign an immediate temporary cease-fire, for a period of three months. Thereafter, we can continue with the talks until we are able to conclude them, but in a period of peace. Renamo, however, said no. The government responded positively to the cease-fire. The United States then said: Fine, since Renamo does not accept this, then open paths and roads to allow cars to move. Renamo said no, but the government responded yes. Renamo said no, because otherwise the government will take advantage of the roads to fight us.

The United States said: Then go to Rome quickly and begin discussions, begin discussing the cease-fire. It said this time the cease-fire should be the first point on the agenda. Poor United States! It was very happy, thinking that Renamo had accepted this. It issued a communique alerting all newspapers that Renamo had agreed to have the cease-fire as the first point in the discussions, that it had agreed to first discuss military issues and then the cease-fire. It was happy. It said: Well, we did not succeed to have an immediate cease-fire but at least they will be able to speed up discussions now. [end recording]

Proliferation of Arms, Rising Crime Discussed

MB2106145192 Maputo TEMPO in Portuguese 14 Jun 92 pp 4, 5, 6, 7, 8

[Article by Jocelino Sitoe: "Arms—Lack of Control Facilitates Increase in Crime"]

[Text] The proliferation of arms in Mozambican cities derives from deficiencies in the control system used by units of the Defense and Security Forces (FDS), a situation that has largely influenced the rapid increase in crime.

For the past two years, crime, a social phenomenon caused by various factors, has reached frightening proportions. In addition to the cost of living, which has been escalating since 1987, the virtual lack of control over weapons at military and paramilitary units is partly to blame for the increase in crime, especially armed robberies and homicides in urban areas, mainly Maputo.

Criminals who carry firearms have gained the courage to seize other people's property. Gangs, often using stolen cars, have raided shops, warehouses, houses, and banks.

Raul Freia, chief of staff in the city of Maputo's police, has acknowledged that the present proliferation of arms is due to the deficient control at FDS units and that criminals have taken advantage of the situation to the extent that they have smuggled weapons across the border.

In coordination with the militia, the police have seized 40 firearms since January, including pistols and "AKM" rifles. Some of them were captured from criminals, others were about to be sold, while others were en route to an unspecified neighboring country—either South Africa or Swaziland.

Raul Freia said that the situation in urban areas results from "yesterday's" mistakes in issuing weapons. He added that weapons issued in 1982 are not the same being used in killings in urban areas and that there are strong indications that such weapons come from FDS units scattered in southern Mozambique.

Supply Sources

The current cost of living, coupled with the problems caused by the irregular payment of salaries to troops, has caused people to collaborate closely with Armed Forces elements, following a criminal path, notably armed robberies.

In their struggle for survival, some soldiers have violated the military code of conduct by leasing arms to criminals. Other troops have even gone to the extent of stealing arms from their units and selling them later because the business is attractive. As Raul Freia stressed, the 20 weapons seized en route to one of the neighboring countries were from FDS units stationed in southern Mozambique.

A gang of criminals based in Chamanculo and which created instability in that residential area and in other parts of the country was thwarted by the police early this year while carrying firearms supplied by an element in the Mozambique Armed Forces [FAM's] Chief of Staff named Luis. His whereabouts is unknown.

An element of that dangerous gang is 22-year-old Manuel who is now in detention in one of Maputo's jails. He said that he joined the tortuous crime path in 1991, and in November he bought a pistol and 16 rounds of ammunition from an FAM member for 600,000 meticals.

Another gaug is led by Serafim Paulo Sitoe, also known in criminal circles as "Mutchini." He served as an FAM private in Gaza Province for seven years. Until 1987 he was a member of a special unit, when he came to Maputo on leave, carrying an "AKM" rifle. He has not returned to his barracks since, opting to stay at home, keeping the weapon with him. Soon afterward, he exchanged his rifle for a "Makarov" pistol, and since then he has been committing crimes. He is now in detention.

At Singatela Ward, in the outlying area of the city of Maputo in March 1991, the police arrested four people for carrying "AKM" rifles illegally and for involvement in armed robberies. Those rifles belonged to uncontrolled militiamen who had opted to engage in criminal activities.

Acknowledging deficiencies in the control of arms, a member of Singatela Ward's party structure said that in December 1991 a group of residents was issued with firearms in order to defend itself from continuing armed attacks. He added that nowadays not a single weapon can be accounted for.

Lucas Chihau, administrator of DU [Urban District]-3, noted that the bulk of Eastern European guest workers in Mozambique were armed with rifles and pistols. When communism fell in that part of the world, there was great uneasiness with many of those workers returning home abruptly, leaving their weapons unattended to.

According to Chihau, some of those weapons ended up in the hands of criminals who either used them in armed robberies or smuggled them across the border.

It Is Possible To Control

The increase in crime involving firearms has forced the security structures to task the police with the organization of operations aimed at checking the movement of assorted weapons. As the chief of staff of the PPM [Mozambique People's Police] revealed, the registration of arms is currently under way in various parts of the city, mainly at militia command posts. The exercise has led to the withdrawal from circulation of some 600 arms which are now in PPM arsenals in the city's command.

One of the problems faced by the police in the effective control of weapons in circulation is that several FDS elements do not adhere to the regulations governing the possession and use of firearms. The proliferation of arms in the city of Maputo is due mainly to failure to adhere to military regulations.

The role of the police is also hindered by renewed war activities, which have led to an uncontrolled movement of troops and militiamen. "For instance," regretted Raul Freia, "one can easily see FDS elements arriving from various parts of Maputo Province and then going home with their respective weapons instead of storing them at the garrison's command." He added: "That is one of the evils that we are trying to fight."

Freia briefly mentioned the militia forces which played an outstanding role in the defense of people and socio-economic infrastructure. Now that it is obvious that there is a lack of control of weapons, some militiamen have adopted an unbecoming conduct, particularly in the outlying areas where they fire their arms at random and carry out armed robberies.

Although the results achieved in the control of weapons have been positive, the police do not feel happy because some defense units are not cooperating with them in the fight for arms control. Freia says that a joint campaign aimed at drying up the sources which supply arms should be launched through actions pinpointing the origin of such weapons. This is designed to achieve a reduction in crimes involving firearms.

Lucas Chihau was optimistic about a possible reduction in crime and the subsequent control of all weapons. In order to do that every type of weapon should be withdrawn from circulation. It is necessary for the FDS to order the return of arms kept at home. Identified policemen would be the only ones carrying weapons during operations which could last only a week.

Judging from the present level of proliferation of arms in urban areas, one is led to believe that the situation is very worrisome and that arms deals are effectively taking place.

Swaziland

Current Political Developments Assessed

MB2106124792 Mbabane THE TIMES OF SWAZILAND SUNDAY in English 21 Jun 92 pp 16,17

[Article by James Dlamini; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] In the next twelve days, the lips to watch are those of Prince Mahlal'engangeni, particularly in the hours around July 1, when he is expected to open his Pandora Box. So intense are the expectations that it seems, no one dares make a wrong move, lest he prejudice his chances in the days succeeding Vusela [Greetings committee] II. James Dlamini reports.

"The political temperature has suddenly calmed down so much that for the first time in many months, we can hear ourselves think again," complained a contented grey head recently. Indeed, suddenly, the political fire eaters have nothing to say. The youths who danced in the streets now prefer discos and even the human rights watchdogs these days are preoccupied with a subject we are all familiar with...fighting over chairs.

What does this lull in political activity mean?

Is it an expression of the patriotic spirit, saving energy to save water?

Organisations which have been normally active since the political renaissance started in Swaziland a few years ago include: The People's Democratic Movement (PUDEMO), the Swaziland Youth Congress (SWAYOCO) and the Human Rights Movement of Swaziland (HUMARAS).

While HUMARAS denies being a political organisation, it is none the less openly active on serious public matters which of necessity touch political nerves and therefore cause a lot of political irritation in certain circles.

Then of course there is the recently formed youth movement, MBOYOCO is understood to have been formed as the official opposition to SWAYOCO.

All have however gone conspicuously quiet during the past week, as though there is suddenly nothing to talk about, as if all their problems have been solved.

Or, is it possible that they have become tired of the nation's issues which led to their formation.

It's not just these normally bellicose organisations that are causing raised eye brows in political circles by their pronounced silence. Even the sure-to-make trouble Indvuna Yetinkhundla [governor of traditional community], Mr. Mndeni Shabalala whose pronouncements are usually greeted with a howl of protest, appears to have been largely ignored recently when he dismissively suggested that VUSELA II should have consulted with him first. In fact, his statement was left to be attacked from a rather surprising quarter, VUSELA itself.

Questions Asked

Many questions are being asked and political observers are keeping their ears on the ground as rumour and speculation are abound. This reaction is the natural outcome of this kind of silence. People get uneasy and begin, not only to ask themselves many questions which usually end up with no answers, but also begin to make guesses of their own.

But it is difficult to predict the politics of Swaziland. Many pundits have tried in the past but were disappointed. This of course does not mean that people will give up speculation. Such would be unnatural. The most likely reason for the peace and stability in the Kingdom, is the fact that people are generally on tenter-hooks as they await for Prince Mahlal'engangeni to open his Pandora box. Prince Mahlal'engangeni is the chairman of the Tinkhundla Review Commission, VUSELA II. The commission is scheduled to preset its report to the Ngwenyama on July 1. VUSELA II is a constitutional review, but authorities are very shy to use words like "constitutional review," or all talk of constitution, preferring to use "Tinkhundla review" instead.

Perhaps this is to ensure that people understand the limited scope of the commission. However, whatever the commission reports, it is bound to have far reaching constitutional consequences, even within the Tinkhundla itself.

Swaziland has been alive with political activity for the past few years. These were particularly heightened by the commissioning of VUSELA I which started unprecedented political debate in Swaziland since independence. The rank and file members of the public participated in the debate either for or against the system as never before.

In fact, VUSELA II came into the political scene amid a continuing debate which was never abated even by the end of the deliberations of VUSELA I. Had political activity stopped after the commencement of VUSELA II and the decree which was passed to caution off the commission and its members against criticism the question would be much simpler to address.

This is the question of the lapse in political activity. But while people observed caution in the wake of this decree, political activity, not necessarily against the commission continued unabated.

Then suddenly, during the past few weeks, things seemed to come to a sudden halt as though everybody has become tired of the issues.

A brief survey on why everything has suddenly all gone quiet brought three possibilities which are probabilities not excluding other possibilities.

We take a look at the possible theories and the organisations and personalities involved and what they could be doing during this lull.

The first, is that the most active players have simply run out of steam—political comets who have burnt themselves out.

Or, it could be that these or many of these organisations are restructuring and preparing to re-launch. It is common knowledge that many are reeling from internal political dissensions and feuds. Some of these feuds are either on matters of principle or the Mabalizandla syndrome—who should sit on what chair.

Or, that some have completely lost direction or focus and may in effect slowly disintegrate.

However the most serious possibility is that restraint is a conscious effort, in which all are playing their cards close to their chests while they wait for the VUSELA report. The theory is that none wish to act in ways that may prejudice their position after the great curtain goes up on July 1.

A glance at some of the organisations and personalities who normally blow political hot air but are now silent:

SWAYOCO; It is common knowledge that SWAYOCO is facing internal strife. One faction favours moderation and another which favours a little radicalism. The moderate faction in SWAYOCO is out to get rid of the so called radicals who are quite dominant.

Those in the know recall a minor squabble between Mphandlana Shongwe and Professor Dlamini, over Shongwe's declaration a few weeks ago, that he was looking for a job.

Inside sources say this agitated Dlamini, who questioned Shongwe's commitment to the struggle by declaring that while he had a university degree, he was sacrificing his time to work for the organisation, and now people like Shongwe were entertaining ideas of seeking gainful employment.

SWAYOCO is also preparing for its annual general congress soon, in which elections are likely to be held. The effort of mobilising internal support and jockeying for position could actually cause great internal anxieties.

PUDEMO, unlike the more youthful SWAYOCO, since un-banning itself a few months ago, has moderated and has recently been observed to respond rather than generate issues for the agenda. It could well be that there have been no open issues which call for comment or reaction. But it does seem that the pending trial of one of its most a outspoken leaders, Raymond Russon casts a long shadow over the organization. Russon is alleged to have been part of a criminal syndicate that waged a reign of terror of house breaking and theft in the Manzini area. He is presently out on bail pending the trial.

PUDEMO have already held their annual general congress and elections, but like everboddy else, they could well be restructuring in the back ground.

HUMARAS on the other hand, is currently gearing for what they term a "rebirth" whatever that means. But they are about to hold their general congress in which they are likely to not only hold elections for a new executive, but also to restructure.

A HUMARAS official says many issues are being sidelined pending the general congress. The idea is that these issues will be dealt with by the new executive.

Recently HUMARAS shunted its president, Mr. Sam Mkhombe off the head table during a meeting of branches. Whether side-lining him was meant to have a permanent effect is unclear. HUMARAS members are said to object to Mr. Mkhombe's participation in Vusela

II, which they interpret as a political forum they do not wish to associate with HUMARAS.

Meanwhile SWANAFRO [Swaziland National Front] does not appear to have survived the fanfare of its birthday. The last time this organisation caught the spotlight nationwide was when it was launched a few months ago. It's president, Mr. Mbho Shongwe is a little known man in Swaziland so that the visibility of the organisation is left to secretary general, Mrs. Glenrose Dlamini who was away for 2 few weeks touring the United States.

Since this organisation claims that it was never under ground, and since little or nothing has been heard of its recruitment campaign, it can be safely assumed that its membership does not stretch further than members of its executives.

Since Mndeni Shabalala is a considerable institution on his own as Indvuna yeTinkhundla, his silence is also notable. But he too is obviously in no great hurry to upset the balance of things since he was reported to the police who say they are now investigating him.

Then there is MBOYOCO. Since this organisation is perceived to have been formed to respond to the wish to checkmate SWAYOCO, it appears logical that if SWAYOCO is in hibernation, they too can go on vacation.

Zimbabwe

Official on Lack of Progress in Resettlement

MB2006110892 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1036 GMT 20 Jun 92

[Text] Gwanda, Zimbabwe June 20 SAPA—Local squabbles and political interference have been blamed for the lack of progress in implementing the Matabeleland resettlement programme, ZIANA reports. Closing a two-week rural development workshop for government development in Esigodini on Friday [19 June], Matabeleland South Provincial Administrator Ray Ndlukula said the on-going feud between civil servants and politicians was to blame for the sluggish pace of tangible rural development.

"Both civil servants and politicians seem to have failed to come up with a long lasting solution to our resettlement problem and have brought the programme to a literal standstill," Mr Ndlukula said. Because of conflicting interests, progress had been bogged down by arguments as both sides tried to achieve and justify their objectives at the expense of the people.

Mr Ndlukula was quoted as saying there were three major actors in the rural development sector, namely the politicians, the civil servants and communal people. He said that while the politicians played a vital legislative role on policy decisions, they tended to play the gallery and make hasty decisions. "Their major activity is the game of power where they vie with other political groups to gain entry into the House of Assembly," he said.

Burkina Faso

New Prime Minister Details Policy Program

LD2006114292 Paris Radio France International in French 1230 GMT 17 Jun 92

[Interview with new Burkina Faso Prime Minister Youssouf Ouedraogo by correspondent Assane Diop; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] The guest of Afrique Midi on Radio France International is Youssouf Ouedraogo, the brand-new prime minister of Burkina Faso. Ouedraogo was just appointed yesterday evening; this is the first interview he has granted as prime minister. He told Assane Diop the main lines of his government program:

[Ouedraogo] It will be a matter of ensuring that Burkina Faso achieves faster and more harmonious development within the framework of promoting democracy. A broad rally for democracy and development will be the main task for our government.

[Diop] By that do you mean there might possibly be an overture to include the opposition, even if the party in power is the clear winner in the National Assembly?

[Ouedraogo] Yes, of course, as far as the opposition political groupings are available. I believe that could be an indication of the willingness expressed by the head of state to create a broad overture and to ensure that all Burkinabes, regardless of political tendency and opinion, are able to take part in the work of national construction.

[Diop] This work of national construction is at the forefront of democracy, but it is also on the economic front; as an economist by training Mr. Prime Minister, what are your top priorities?

[Ouedraogo] Burkina Faso is now benefiting from some positive indicators on the economic development front. Our priority is still to promote rural development, particularly agricultural and water resource development. Moreover, we want to bring the country out of its isolation, to improve the circulation of people and goods, and to ensure accelerated development, both at the national and subregional levels.

[Diop] Mr. Prime Minister, you are also going to inherit social issues, in particular a certain number of partly political, partly social demands. Trade union demands have already been on strike for some time; are you also going to take into account these issues?

[Ouedraogo] Yes, absolutely, the social demands expressed by the workers will be listened to. A permanent dialogue should permit us to ensure the prospects for the resolution of problems within the limit of possibilities in Burkina Faso.

[Diop] What does this mean in concrete terms?

[Ouedraogo] It means that with talks taking place, the dialogue now under way will permit the two sides to see what the real possibilities for Burkina Faso are. This is with the understanding that it is quite normal that any time there is a possibility of giving the workers a concrete solution to their concrete problems then the government will look into it and will give positive responses.

[Diop] So, you do not rule out the possibility of involving in the government personalities belonging to the political opposition? Are you also thinking of involving public figures from civil society? In particular I am thinking about trade unionists, human rights activists, and others.

[Ouedraogo] Insofar as the spirit of initiating and searching for an overture, and the construction of accelerated development based on democracy allows, we shall see.

[Diop] Back to the institutions now, which matters are you going to attack to firmly establish this democracy? I mean those reforms that are immediately necessary and those which are needed, for example, in the Army.

[Ouedraogo] Details will be given during the next few days. Let us not rush things.

[Diop] So there has to be prior consultation, notably of the National Assembly?

[Ouedraogo] There must be consultation of the National Assembly, there must be consultations with the various economic and social partners, and I believe that this is basically what we are going to do during the next few days.

[Diop] When are you thinking of forming your team? I imagine that you are already in consultation. Within what period of time will the Burkinabes learn the names of those who are going to hold ministerial portfolios?

[Ouedraogo] Within the next few days.

[Diop] In other words?

[Ouedraogo] Listen, let us not get to work too fast! Simply within the next few days.

Names Cabinet

AB2006210592 Ouagadougou Radiodiffusion Nationale du Burkina Radio in French 1900 GMT 20 Jun 92

[Text] The first government of the Fourth Republic was made public today. Prime Minister Youssouf Ouedraogo, who was appointed on 16 June, has formed his government made up of 29 ministers, of whom 13 are from the Organization for Popular Democracy-Labor Movement. Here are the details from Patrice Djissongo:

[Djissongo] Decree No. 9216113 CM on the composition of the Government of Burkina Faso: The president of Burkina Faso and chairman of the Cabinet, in view of the Constitution, in view of Decree No. 92173 of 16 June

on the appointment of the prime minister, on the proposal of the prime minister, decree:

Article 1: The Government of Burkina Faso is composed as follows:

Minister of	
State in charge of finance and planning	KABORE, Roch Marc Christian
State	NABOHO, Kanidoua
State	YAMEOGO, Hermann
In charge of special duties at the Presidency of Burkina Faso	DIALLO, Salif
Defense	LARBA, Yarga
External Relations	SANOU, Thomas
Territorial Administration	SAWADOGO, Raogo Antoine
Public Won's, Housing, and Town Planning	KABORET, Joseph
Industries Commerce, and Mines	DIABRE, Zephirin
Secondary, Higher Education, and Scientific Research	TRAORE, Melegue Maurice
Justice and Keeper of the Seals	SOME, Timothee
Communication and Govern- ment Spokesman	HIEN, Theodore Kilimite
Water	NARE, Seyni Macaire
Employment, Labor, and Social Security	COMPAORE, Jean Leonard
Transport	SIMPORE, Mamadou
In Charge of Relations With the Parliament	ZAMPALIGRE, Idrissa
Primary Education and Mass Lit- eracy	TINDREBEOGO, Mrs. Alice
Civil Service and Administration Modernization	BONKOUNGOU, Mrs. Juliette
Environment and Tourism	TINDREGEOGO, Anatole G.
Agriculture and Animal Resources	SAWADOGO, Jean Paul
Health, Social Welfare, and Family	DABIRE, Christophe
Youth and Sports	TRAORE, Ibrahim
Culture	KOUTIEBOU, Ouala
Minister delegate in charge of	
Private Education	SANOU, Clement
Budget	TINDREBEOGO, Celestin
Energy and Mines	OUEDRAOGO, Francois
Planning	SAWADODO, Jacques
Social Welfare & Family	BELOMBAOGO, Mrs. Akila
Animal Resources	SERE, Sina

Article 2: The present decree will be published in the official journal of Burkina Faso.

Ouagadougou, 19 June 1992

Blaise Compaore, Youssouf Ouedraogo

Decree 92162 CRES on the appointment of the secretary general of the government and the Cabinet: The president of Burkina Faso and chairman of the Cabinet, in view of the Constitution, in view of Decree 92173 of 16 June 1992 on the appointment of the prime minister, in view of Decree 92161 CRES of 19 June 1992 on the composition of the Government of Burkina Faso, decree:

Article 1: Mr. Tingna Bernard Nabare is appointed secretary general of the government and the Cabinet.

Article 2: The present decree will be published in the official journal of Burkina Faso.

Ouagadougou, 19 June 1992

Blaise Compaore, Youssouf Ouedraogo

Decree 92163 CRES on the appointment of the president of the Economic and Social Council: The president of Burkina Faso and chairman of the Cabinet, in view of the Constitution, in view of Decree 92173 of 16 June 1992 on the appointment of the prime minister, in view of ordinance 85011 CRES of 22 February 1985 on the creation of a Revolutionary Economic and Social Council and its modification No. 92003 CRES of 15 January 1992 instituting an Economic and Social Council, CES, in Burkina Faso, decree:

Article 1: Assomption Frederic Korsaga is appointed president of the Economic and Social Council.

Article 2: The present decree will be published in the official journal of Burkina Faso.

Ouagadougou, 19 June 1992

Blaise Compaore

Ghana

Newspaper Law Repealed; Media Commission Set Up

AB2206082092 Accra Ghana Broadcasting Corporation Radio Network in English 2000 GMT 19 Jun 92

[Text] A law setting up a National Media Commission to promote the freedom, independence, responsibility, and accountability of the media, both private and public, has been promulgated by the PNDC [Provisional National Defense Council]. An official statement issued today said membership under the National Media Commission Law 1992 will be made up of nominees of the following organizations: one nominee representing the Christian Group, that is, the Catholic Secretariat, the Christian Council, and the Pentecostal Council; one nominee representing the Ghana Advertising Association and the Institute of Public Relations; one nominee representing the Ghana Association of Writers and the

Library Association; one nominee of the Ghana Bar Association; one nominee of the Ghana National Association of Teachers; one nominee representing the Federation of Muslim Councils and Ahmadiyya Mission; one nominee of the Publishers and Owners of Private Press; and one nominee representing the two training institutions of journalists and communicators.

The Media Commission will also have two representatives nominated by the Ghana Journalists Associations and five other persons to be appointed by the PNDC, at least two of whom shall be women. It will elect one of its members as chairman. The commission will take appropriate measures to ensure the establishment and maintenance of high journalistic standards in the country's mass media including the investigation, mediation, and settlement of complaints made against or by the press or other mass media. It will also ensure that persons responsible for the state-owned media provide, as far as possible, equal opportunities and facilities for the representation of divergent views. They should also make regulations by legislative instrument for the registration of newspapers. Such regulations should, however, not provide for the exercise of any direction or control over the professional functions of media practitioners.

The law stipulates that any medium for the dissemination of information to the public which publishes a statement about or against any person shall be obliged to publish a rejoinder, if any, from the person in respect of whom the publication was made. Where a publisher defaults in the publication of a rejoinder, the aggrieved person may apply to the Media Commission or the High Court for an order to enforce the provision of this section of the law. The National Media Commission Law makes specific provision for a Complaints Committee, which shall consist of the chairman of the commission and six members of the commission, three of whom shall be persons not ordinarily employed in the media industry. Any person aggrieved by a publication or by an act of omission of any journalist, newspaper proprietor, or publisher may lodge a complaint before the commission. The person who lodges the complaint shall exhaust all avenues available for settling the issue by the commission before recourse to the courts.

The Complaints Committee has powers to order the publication of correction or an apology, publication of a rejoinder, or appropriate disciplinary action. In cases requiring disciplinary action, however, the commission shall make recommendation to the appropriate professional association. The Complaints Committee may publish in full or in edited version its findings in respect of any investigations carried out. The law says the Media Commission shall not be subject to the control or directives of any person in authority in the performance of its functions. It will have a full-time executive secretary, and its administrative and operational expenses will be charged on the Consolidated Fund.

Meanwhile, the Newspaper Licensing Law 1988: PNDC Law 211, has been repealed.

In another statement, the Ministries of Defense and Interior have directed that all personnel of the Armed Forces, Police Service, Prisons Service, Fire Service, and the CDO [Civil Defense Organization], are forbidden to publicly wear or display T-shirts with emblems or slogans of any political party. The joint directive warned that disciplinary action will be taken against any contravention of the order.

Ivory Coast

President Returns, Promises To Initiate Talks

AB2006175092 Abidjan Radio Cote d'Ivoire Chaine Nationale-Une Network in French 1310 GMT 20 Jun 92

[Statement by President Houphouet-Boigny at the Presidential Palace in Abidjan following his return from France—live]

[Text] My dear countrymen, I cannot hide the profound joy I feel as I find myself among you today after nearly five months' absence. I would like to initiate, without delay, talks with delegations from the main socioeconomic groups, after which I will address the nation. This should tell you how brief I intend to be. But in a world so divided, so torn apart, a world in which some countries have been going through decades of fratricidal feuds, I cannot help stating how proud I am of you-you who were able to do without your president for nearly five months, thereby clearly showing the reality and strength of the Ivorian state. I seize this opportunity to express my most brotherly congratulations to all officials at all levels who, through their work, maintained Ivory Coast's credibility in Africa and the world with so much ability and conscientiousness. Here, as you know, I am referring to Prime Minister Alassane Ouattara, the chairman of the various institutions, the grand chancellor-I would even add the state functionaries at all levels—who gave their best through hard work.

But in this world, all countries, without exception—from the greatest to the smallest, from the most developed to the least developed—are confronted with the same difficulties, many difficulties in what has come to be called everyday life: Food—thank God our Ivory Coast is not experiencing famine—housing, health, education and training, the youth, water, and electricity—in short, anything that gradually contributes to the welfare of human beings. That is why after these five months spent abroad, I am sincerely telling you my feelings; my feelings have been confirmed, because in all things we can and should rely only on ourselves.

I told you I would not be long, since you will be expecting my message. But I cannot conclude this short statement without reiterating once more that all manner of change is possible in Ivory Coast, provided such changes take place in an atmosphere of peace, order, and tranquility. I have just mentioned the objectives we should attain if we want our country to obtain its place in the comity of developed countries. To this end, it is more than ever necessary, it is even indispensable that Ivorians—all shades of political leanings included—should embark on the difficult task that consists in working with all their might and with all their souls so that we, too—since it is a question of raw materials—can transform our raw materials for our national needs and for export. This should also bring us to the ranks of the developed and industrial countries.

I do not want to say anything further. I would like to thank you, my dear Diomande [chief Ivorian TV reporter], for wishing me a happy welcome. I was not expecting anything less from you. I would, therefore, like to leave you and the microphone to go and witness the festivities that you have organized to celebrate my return to the country—a celebration of brotherly reunion during which I would ask you to carry with you the following watchword, which does not only carry hope, but certitude for the best future, the harmonious future for our beautiful country.

Long live the Ivory Coast! [applause]

Liberia

Sawyer Urges Support for Disaramament

AB2106210092 Monrovia Radio ELBC in English 0900 GMT 20 Jun 92

[Text] The president, Dr. Amos Sawyer, is urging Liberians to be advocates of disarmament to (?facilitate the country's smooth) [words indistinct] (?democratic elections) in Liberia. He pointed out that a society cannot be built on the barrels of guns. Disarmament and encampment of former combatants in the civil conflict, Dr. Sawyer said, are preconditions for successful general elections. The president was speaking on Wednesday [17 June] at the formal launching of the Paynesville Teachers' (?Union) in Monrovia. Dr. Sawyer emphasized that Liberians must look beyond the reason of money within the [words indistinct] itself and make the necessary sacrifices for the [word indistinct] attainment of (?justice) in the country.

Niger

Civil Servants Fired, Suspended for Corruption

AB2006152592 Paris AFP in English 1813 GMT 19 Jun 92

[Text] Niamey, June 19 (AFP)—Authorities in Niger have sacked 104 government workers and suspended 161 others for embezzling public funds, the national ANP news agency reported Friday [19 June].

The move was initiated by a commission appointed to clean up the administration by a national conference last year on bringing multi- party democracy to the Sahel nation.

The cases of 225 other civil servants were still pending, ANP said.

The dismissals were announced after the impoverished transitional government asked the country's 39,000 civil servants, of whom more than a third are teachers, for a truce.

Government spokesman Albert Wright late Thursday said there was no point in having a national solidarity fund with money deducted from the pay of wealthier social groups if those same people then turned round and asked for matching cuts in rent and the cost of power and water.

"The restructuring of social peace is vital to government action," Wright said, according to ANP. He accused some professional bodies of "taking no account of economic reality in Niger, where 80 percent of the national income goes into paying wages."

Teachers have been among the leaders in strike activity this year.

Nigeria

Defense Minister, Delegation Leave for Europe

AB1906204092 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network in English 1500 GMT 19 Jun 92

[Text] The minister of defense and chief of defense staff, General Sanni Abacha, left Lagos today at the head of a military delegation for France and Spain. During the one-week visit, Gen. Abacha will hold discussions with his counterparts in the two countries on defense matters.

The defense minister was seen off at Murtala Mohamed Airport by the director general in the ministry, retired Major General Olu Gbadjowa. Also at the airport to see him off were the commandant of the National War College, Lieutenant General Jerry Seni, and the Spanish ambassador in Nigeria, Mr. Carlos Bercena Portoles.

Clashes in Kaduna Reported; Order Said Restored

AB2006215892 Paris AFP in French 1107 GMT 20 Jul 92

[Text] Lagos, 20 Jun (AFP)—Fresh ethnic-religious disturbances broke out the morning of 19 June in Kaduna (a city with a Muslim majority in northern Nigeria), where clashes in May had resulted in a police count of 230 deaths, while local sources said the death toll was much higher. This was reported by the Nigerian press in Lagos today. A group armed with spears, cutlasses,, and axes attacked a man in the Rigassa ward and left him for dead. This led to panic developing in the city, according to the press. Traders fled the market in the city-center or

closed their shops while the police quickly took up positions and managed to restore order by midday.

Kaduna State Police Commissioner Abdullahi Kaltungo announced that private militias, which had been set up during the previous clashes, were no longer "desired," and would be considered "a security risk," reported the daily newspaper, THE GUARDIAN. The police, which have taken over from the Army, have the situation under control and are in position to maintain law and order, he assured worried representatives of the southern community of Kaduna, (which comprises Christians and animists). The head of the Ibo community (from the southeast of the country), Cyprian Ihejiahie, stressed "the need for a veritable peace, not that which has been decreed but which is not real," THE GUARDIAN stated.

Tribal Clashes in Taraba Leave 15 Dead

AB2106113092 Paris AFP in English 1116 GMT 21 Jun 92

[Text] Lagos, 21 Jun (AFP) - Fresh fighting between the Jukun and Tiv peoples of Taraba state in eastern Nigeria has left 15 dead, the VANGUARD newspaper reported on Sunday [21 June].

It said the latest flareup between the communities, which are constantly at loggerheads over land claims, involved allegations about the murder of a young Tiv woman and the theft of fertilizer.

Youths of the dead woman's clan raided the Jukun village of Akwana and killed 15 women, VANGUARD said. There have been more than 10 outbreaks of violence between the two tribes in the past two years. One of the most serious was last December when more than 100 people were killed and several villages destroyed.

Sierra Leone

Alleged UK Mercenaries Arrested for Coup Plot

AB2006185592 Accra Ghana Broadcasting Corporation Radio Network in English 1800 GMT 20 Jun 92

[Text] In Sierra Leone, the police have arrested three British nationals suspected of being mercenaries plotting to overthrow the ruling National Provisional Ruling Council, NPRC. Announcing this in Freetown today, the deputy head of the Criminal Investigations Branch, Mr. Teddy Williams, gave the names of the suspects as retired Naval Captain (Ian Marrill), retired Major John Banks, and retired Colonel (David Howe). They were arrested earlies work after flying in to Freetown from Amsterdam.

Mr. Williams said during interrogations the three Britons said they had come to Sierra Leone to warn the authorities that a powerful group in Paris is motting to overthrow the NPRC. According to him, the suspects claimed the Paris group is being backed by prominent Sierra Leonean citizens and some powerful Lebanese citizens. It is not immediately known whether ousted Presiden. Momoh, who is living in exile in neighboring Guinea, is linked in any way to the alleged plot.

NPRC Issues Requests for NPFL To Withdraw

AB2106185592 London BBC World Service in English 1705 GMT 21 Jun 92

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] The new military regime in Sierra Leone calls for the unconditional withdrawal of Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia, or NPFL, rebels from the country. In a statement broadcast on national radio the National Provisional Redemption [as heard] Council or NPRC, said it is keeping its options open but has set out conditions before it can take part in dialogue with the NPFL, as Victor Silver reports in this telex from Freetown:

[Begin studio announcer recording] The NPRC stated that it is not opposed to any dialogue which will bring peace to the subregion but stressed that it would only enter into such dialogue after the implementation of an unconditional cease-fire. The statement said once such a cease-fire was in place, Charles Taylor's NPFL rebels and their supporters should lay down their arms and give themselves up so the ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease- Fire Monitoring Group] peacekeeping force can carry out its mandate of disarming all warring factions and gathering them in encampments.

The NPRC also called on all NPFL forces operating inside Sierra Leone to withdraw immediately and allow ECOMOG to establish a buffer zone between Liberia and Sierra Leone in the strategic zones designated in the Yamoussoukro and Geneva Accords. The NPRC said once this process was completed, it would ensure that all ULIMO [United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia] forces in Sierra Leone were also disarmed and encamped.

As for the rebel leader Foday Sankoh and his followers, the NPRC said it will be in their best interest to heed the call to lay down their arms, surrender, and immediately release all the Sierra Leoneans they hold hostage. The NPRC expressed the hope that all rebel forces will respond to its call and stop what it called the gross human rights violations of ordinary Sierra Leoneans.

The statement is viewed by observers here as a nononsense approach to the hesitant steps toward the implementation of the Yamoussoukro Accords and the last chance for Charles Taylor to abide by international agreements. [end recording] Minister Comments on Reasons for Military Takeover AB1906221592 Freetown SLBS Radio in English 2000 GMT 18 Jun 92

[Text] Addressing a mammoth meeting of people from all over the Koinadugu District of Kabala, Resident Minister Captain Fallah Seewa outlined the reasons for the military takeover and explained that while soldiers were in the war front sacrificing their lives to protect this country's territorial integrity, deposed President Momoh and his ministers were busy looting the finances of the country. The aim of the NPRC [National Provisional Ruling Council] government, he assured the people, is to

remedy the ugly situation they have inherited and to restore the human rights of all Sierra Leoneans, regardless of tribe or other affiliations.

Delivering a message through the chief of Koinadugu District from the NPRC Secretariat, Capt. Seewa informed them that government has decided to restore their powers to nominate educated [word indistinct] chairmen in their respective chiefdoms, subject to its approval, on the recommendations of the provincial secretary and the district officers. The resident minister later held meetings with the staff of the district office; the chief police officer, G Division; and heads of departments.

END OF FICHE DATE FILMED 23 June 192

